

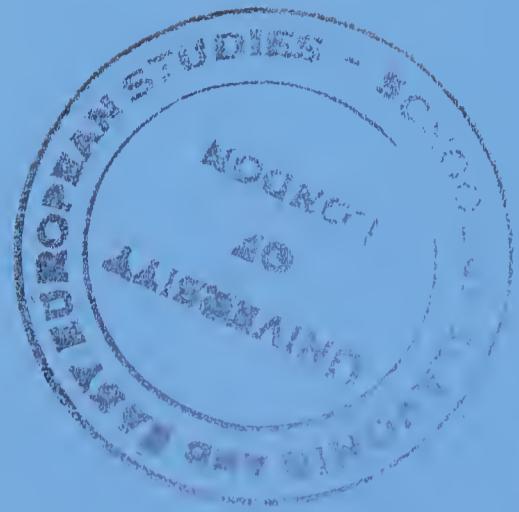
ISSN 0038-0903

# SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN  
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series    Vol. 8    1994





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*Solanus* is published by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU

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# The Language of Reading: Linguistic processes in the former USSR and their reflection in publishing

V. D. Stel'makh

In recent years a number of books have been published in Russia by writers who spent decades in Soviet prisons and camps. These works constitute a distinct historical-literary trend which has been given the name 'camp literature'. The novels and stories describe not only the horrors of camp life and the prisoners' physical sufferings, but also the process of disintegration of the personality, its intellectual and moral annihilation. Such writers as V. Shalamov, Iu. Dombrovskii and others have identified thirteen stages in this process: thirteen steps leading downwards.

The first stage in this process is the disintegration of the literary language which is characteristic of the intelligentsia and distinguishes it from other social groups. The second stage is the disintegration of the whole language structure, even at its everyday conversational level. There remains in use only the obscene language of the lowest level of society. Then comes the stage of unmotivated brutality towards animals, and so on.

Social and psychological phenomena are known to be manifested in their clearest forms in extreme situations. Our example shows that language is not simply a means of communication. It is a basic element in the structure of the personality, its intellectual and moral backbone. The same applies to the language of a nation. It shapes the national consciousness and the concept of the nation. It is through the language that an individual is introduced to the culture, traditions and customs of his or her nation. The language serves as a means for national self-identification and consolidation.

The findings of an inter-regional study, carried out in 1987 in Moscow (a sample of 1500 respondents of Russian origin), Tallinn (280 respondents) and Tashkent (300 respondents) testify to the significant predominance of ethnic linkages (language, culture, customs) to one's nation over general social linkages, with language being the most significant of all. (See Table 1.)

The language situation in the territory of the former Soviet Union, during the years of Soviet power and at the present time, yields rich material for political, social and culturological studies. Within the borders of the former empire there lived people of more than 130 nationalities. Russian officially had the status of the language of communication between nations, although it was in actuality the state language. Even before the October Revolution, when national liberation movements began in the outlying areas of the Russian

Table 1. Responses to the question: 'What links you to your nation?' (in %)

	Moscow	Tallinn	Tashkent
Language	24	39	44
Culture (way of life, customs, rituals)	24	34	23
Traits of character	25	20	19
The fortunes of history	9	8	17
Others	10	2	7

Source: Iu. V. Arutiunian, 'Sotsial'no-kul'turnoe razvitiye i natsional'noe samosoznanie', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1990 (7), pp. 42–49.

Empire, political parties of Russian-nationalist views were calling for Russian to be given the standing of an official state language, with the implication that other languages should not.

The founder and ideologist of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, wrote three years before the Bolshevik revolution:

Hundreds of thousands of people are moving from one end of Russia to the other; the different national populations are intermingling; exclusiveness and regressive nationalism must disappear. People whose conditions of life and work make it necessary for them to know Russian will learn it without being forced to do so.<sup>1</sup>

In the years that followed in the totalitarian state built by Lenin and his successors, these ideas found characteristic expression in Soviet policy towards nationalities. Ethnic groups, communities and nations were indeed 'moved and intermingled', but not 'without being forced to do so'. The forcible deportation of the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans, Greeks from the Black Sea region and other ethnic minorities from their own lands, and their scattering over the vast territories of the Soviet state, bear witness to ethnic policy in practice, screened though it was by official declarations about 'the equality and sovereignty of nationalities'.

In those cases where the ethnic community had no opportunity for compact settlement, assimilation proceeded rapidly. It began with the disintegration of the national language, which became useless within the milieu of a different language and nationality. The following generation consequently lacked its own linguistic tradition, and along with that its sense of national identity. Examples of this kind are very common. People of differing origins, born and raised in a Russian-language milieu within the traditions of Russian culture, identify themselves with the Russian nation. It is therefore quite understandable that

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, 'Nuzhen li obiazatel'nyi iazyk?', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, t. 24, pp. 293–295.

people who are non-Russian by origin and according to the data on their passport, give their nationality as Russian when responding to sociological questionnaires or national censuses.

There are, of course, a number of notable exceptions to this tendency. One is the case of the Russian Jews. Their scattered pattern of settlement on the territory of the Russian Empire, and their consequent assimilation, started in the second half of the nineteenth century when Jews began to move beyond the borders of the Pale of Settlement, and thus beyond the boundaries of their traditional way of life. The recently published *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve* quotes from I. G. Orshanskii, a scholar and political journalist who wrote in the nineteenth century about the adoption by the Jews not only of the Russian language, but also of ‘the customs, mentality and the Russian national spirit as a whole’. Orshanskii stresses the impact on this process of the Jews’ scattered pattern of settlement.<sup>2</sup>

In the years of Soviet power, this process appears to have been completed. The Jews have finally lost their language, religion, rituals, historical memory and culture,<sup>3</sup> but have at the same time retained a sense of their national identity. Obviously there are a number of historical and culturological reasons for this,<sup>4</sup> but it is important to relate this phenomenon to the state policy of antisemitism in the USSR. The policy affected people of Jewish nationality at every step: their education, employment prospects, openings for official travel abroad, career opportunities, etc. were severely restricted. From early childhood to the end of their days a person would be made to remember that he or she was a Jew, and consequently an outcast, an ‘alien element’ deprived of rights and opportunities which other citizens enjoyed. This constant humiliation on grounds of nationality gave rise to opposing consequences: to national apostasy as well as to national consolidation; but in both directions it led to the preservation of a feeling of ethnic kinship among Russian Jews.

In the cases described above of the dispersal of peoples whose ethnic specificity was completely destroyed, the problem of bilingualism did not arise, either at the level of everyday interpersonal communication or at the level of reading literature. Bilingualism did survive, however, where ethnic communities lived as enclaves within another nation (for example, Tatars, Chuvash, Udmurts, Mordvin, Chukchi and other peoples living on the territory of Russia), as well as in the larger ethnic areas represented by the non-Russian former union republics of the USSR. However, the opportunities for preserving

<sup>2</sup> Cited from the article by N. Iukhnev, ‘My byli . . . my zhili . . .’, in *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve*, no. 1 (Moskva/Ierusalim, 1992), p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> The establishment in 1934 of the Jewish Autonomous Region within the Russian Federation was of no fundamental significance in this respect.

<sup>4</sup> L. Gudkov and A. Levinson, ‘Otnoshenie naseleniya k evreiam’, in *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta* (note 2), pp. 6–41.

Table 2. Proportion of students in Russian-language secondary schools  
in the non-Russian republics (in %)

	Academic year		
	1938/39	1955/56	1980/81
Ukraine	14.0	26.0	44.5
Belarus	6.6	22.0	25.0
Uzbekistan	10.0	20.0	13.4
Kazakhstan	52.3	66.0	64.2
Georgia	9.2	20.0	21.2
Azerbaidzhan	9.5	23.0	14.1
Lithuania	—	11.0	12.8
Moldavia	—	33.0	36.2
Latvia	—	33.0	44.1
Kirghizia	—	49.0	34.0
Tadzhikistan	—	16.0	10.0
Armenia	2.8	9.0	11.7
Turkmenistan	13.2	21.0	14.8
Estonia	—	22.0	32.6

Source: N. Dobrynina, *Cherty dukhovnoi obshchnosti* (Moskva, 1983), p. 110.

the national languages, traditions and cultures differed with different ethnic groups, since they depended on the scope and depth of national consciousness. Nevertheless, the mechanism of destruction which was applied to all of them was much the same. One of the central features of this process was an enforced diffusion of Russian and a narrowing of the spheres of activity within which bilingualism could function.

Even so, it would be wrong to view the accelerated inculcation of Russian only as an imperial strategy aimed at the Russification of the population in the areas concerned. There were at least two tendencies at work: on the one hand, the need for the economic and cultural development of the USSR required a common language; on the other, the process was reinforced by increasing centralization and the gradual transformation of a federative into a unitary state. By specific legislative acts and directives, Russian was 'hammered' into the multinational life of the republics. An essential instrument of this policy was the system of education and book production. (See Table 2.)

As far back as 1938, the teaching of Russian in schools of the non-Russian union republics was aimed at the officially declared objective that: 'Students with non-complete secondary education (seven years of schooling) must be

Table 3. Dissemination of Russian in the USSR  
(in % of total population)

	1959	1970	1979	1989
Russians	54.6	53.4	52.3	50.8
Non-Russians with Russian as mother tongue	4.8	5.3	6.2	6.5
Non-Russians with good competence in Russian	11.4	17.3	23.4	24.0
Total percentage of those knowing Russian	70.8	76.0	81.9	81.3

Source: M. N. Rutkevich, 'O dvukh aspektakh mezhnatsional'nykh otnoshenii', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1991 (3), p. 18.

able to express their thoughts in correct Russian orally and in writing'.<sup>5</sup> This policy for accelerating the advance of Russian contained (openly and otherwise) a considerable element of compulsion which gradually grew with the strengthening of the imperial ideology. Russian came to prevail in administrative work, and became the language of conferences and meetings throughout the country, even at municipal and district levels. (See Table 3.)

It can be asserted, therefore, that at present six out of seven citizens of the former USSR have a good knowledge of Russian. Even so, the picture differs markedly between different parts of Russia, and between those and the former non-Russian republics. For example, in the Volga-Urals region of Russia (the inhabitants of which include Tatars, Chuvash, Bashkirs, Udmurts, Mari and Komi), the proportion of non-Russians having good Russian language competence amounted to 87.8% in 1989, whereas in the Caucasus it was 36.8%, in the Baltic region 45.3%, and in Central Asia 25.1%. These differences can be accounted for by various factors: the linguistic proximity or remoteness of the languages in relation to Russian, the differing rates of migration by Russian-speakers into this or that region, and the different characteristics of population settlement which were discussed earlier. In enclaves where the native population have had their own national administrative bodies but have been living at close quarters with Russians, they have become mixed and assimilated to a significant degree and consider Russian to be their mother tongue. In the larger non-Russian ethnic areas, with a compact settlement of the native population, which have had their own state administrative bodies and which joined the Russian Empire under differing circumstances, the dissemination of Russian

<sup>5</sup> *Narodnoe obrazovanie*, 1972 (12), p. 480.

Table 4. Proportion of book and pamphlet production in the indigenous languages of the non-Russian union republics of the USSR in 1980 (in %)

	Titles	Copies
Ukraine	23.8	63.4
Belarus	12.3	21.0
Uzbekistan	44.8	65.7
Kazakhstan	34.5	51.8
Georgia	65.7	78.5
Azerbaidzhan	64.6	75.0
Lithuania	75.9	82.3
Moldavia	34.9	46.6
Latvia	43.9	75.0
Kirghizia	44.3	44.4
Tadzhikistan	43.8	66.6
Armenia	61.2	77.7
Turkmenistan	46.2	71.4
Estonia	61.5	76.4

Source: *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1980 g.* (Moskva, 1981), p. 488.

proceeded much more slowly.

By the beginning of the 1980s, book publishing in the non-Russian union republics of the USSR had been orientated towards production in Russian. Even so, the situation in different republics varied. Thus, Russian fiction titles constituted 8% of the total number of fiction titles in Azerbaidzhan and Georgia, but 20–25% in Ukraine and Belarus. Copies of Russian fiction amounted to 8% of the total production of fiction in Azerbaidzhan, 56% in Belarus, 37% in Kazakhstan and 35% in Moldavia.<sup>6</sup> The proportion of titles in the indigenous languages ranged from 12% in Belarus to 70% in Lithuania. The total number of copies in those languages ranged from 21% in Belarus to 78% in Georgia. Book production not in the indigenous languages was mostly in Russian: as a rule, the proportion of titles in foreign languages was no more than 2–5% of the total. (See Table 4.)

These conspicuous variations in proportion were used as their main argument by Soviet ideologists in their unmasking of ‘groundless capitalist theories on the Russification policy of the Communist Party’. A number of reasons for the variations have already been discussed, but another important factor was the internal ethnic strategy of the administration in each republic, which influenced to a considerable extent the degree to which the patterns of a differ-

<sup>6</sup> N. Dobrynina, *Cherty dukhovnoi obshchnosti* (Moskva, 1983), p. 111.

ent culture were adopted. It is notable that the regions where the destruction of ethnic identity proceeded most quickly are those which today appear least ready for independent development.

Thus, by the time of the Soviet Union's disintegration, the spheres of activity for bilingualism were considerably reduced. The native and the Russian languages were used in completely separate areas of life. The native language had been practically ousted from all social and cultural spheres of activity, remaining only as a means of communication at an everyday conversational level, and even then not in its traditional form: due to interference between languages, it had been transformed into an amalgam of the native tongue and Russian, and distanced from the literary norms of both. Russian had become not only the *de facto* official language, but also the language of literary culture and of reading. Research done in the early 1980s showed that 45% of those who used their native tongue at home were reading mostly in Russian.<sup>7</sup> Recent research in a number of the newly independent states (e.g. Kazakhstan) shows that even members of the intelligentsia, who could be expected to be the 'social source' and custodians of national self-awareness, use their native language only in personal communication. The literary stratum of the native language, which gives the facility to read and write, has practically vanished. This clearly testifies to the success of the policies aimed at 'eliminating ethnic differences', 'bringing the nations together' and establishing 'a unified community of peoples—the Soviet people'. In the National Library of Kazakhstan, books in Kazakh amount today to 3–4% of the total stock.

It is true, though, that within these general tendencies there still existed different approaches in choosing the reading language. The extreme points in this continuum were national poetry, which was read mostly in the native language, and professional literature, which was read almost exclusively in Russian. The reading language for other genres varied. Books on the history of their own nationality were read in Russian by 47% of respondents living in the non-Russian union republics, and in their native language by 37%. Books on the history of other nationalities were read in Russian by 57% of the respondents and in their native languages by 28%; science fiction by 59% and 26% respectively; crime novels by 61% and 19%; and humour by 49% and 30%.<sup>8</sup> The proportion for whom the choice of language was not important did not amount to more than 10–12% in different areas.

In the period from the 1960s to the 1980s, the destruction of ethnic consciousness and the formation of an imperial outlook took their departure not only from the 'centre' but also from the native population itself. Parents wanted their children to study Russian and were eager to send them to Russian univer-

<sup>7</sup> Dobrynina (note 6), p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Dobrynina (note 6), p. 67.

sities, since this offered better career opportunities. Home libraries, which (in contrast to the state public libraries which were instruments of official policy) should have been preserving the ethnic cultural heritage, were in fact stocked with literature in Russian. This was stated by 52% of urban and 49% of rural residents polled by sociologists from the Lenin State Library of the USSR in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>9</sup>

The recent awakening of ethnic consciousness manifests itself not only in efforts to achieve independent statehood and the expansion of political and economic rights, but also in the ideology of ethno-cultural identity. The injustices of the past, the neglect of other peoples' languages and cultures, the exploitation of ethnic issues by some of the present political leaders in their struggle for power—all these, together with a number of other factors, have caused the explosion of ethnic passions which have been accumulating for decades. The present ethnic conflicts and wars on the territory of the former USSR is the price we pay for many years of humiliating peoples' ethnic sensibilities.<sup>10</sup>

It is significant that the greatest tension has been generated around the issue of national languages. The language policies of the political groups and movements which have come to power in the new states are aimed at conferring official status upon the indigenous languages; but again, the laws passed to this end contain a strong element of compulsion, though in this case towards the Russian-speaking population. The national political elite in almost all the non-Russian republics of the former USSR aims at the complete ousting of Russian as an official language. It is being withdrawn from school curricula, and book production and library acquisition policies are being modified accordingly.

The proportion of Russians in the population of the new sovereign states is quite substantial: in some it amounts to 40–50% of the total. The isolation of Russians from their language and culture is now becoming a real tragedy for them: being accustomed to their role of dominant nation, they did not make great efforts to familiarize themselves with the languages and cultures of the peoples among whom they lived. Now history is repeating itself: the struggle for national revival is being accompanied by the humiliation of the 'other' language—this time Russian; and once again this is nourishing aggressive nationalism on the part of both populations, Russian and native.

<sup>9</sup> Dobrynina (note 6), p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> There are other points of view on this issue. For example, V. Zhirinovskii, leader of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party, which has a pro-fascist orientation, claims: 'The conflict was brought about deliberately. The Communists could have been given credit for the fact that there had grown up a whole generation of people in this country who were ready to live as friends and saw no ethnic differences . . . How should the ethnic problem be solved under present circumstances? Only through fear. We need fear . . . and the republics should be abolished.' 'Mezhnatsional'nye protivorechiia v Rossii: strategiia partii i obshchestvennykh dvizhenii ("Kruglyi stol")', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1992 (11), p. 35.

Table 5. Titles published by language in selected republics of the former USSR in 1990 (in % of total number of titles)

	In indigenous language	In Russian and other languages of the USSR	In foreign languages
Russian Federation	91.5	2.8	5.6
Ukraine	28.5	68.9	2.2
Belarus	15.3	81.7	2.9
Moldavia	37.3	57.6	3.6
Estonia	66.3	19.9	13.3
Latvia	56.5	37.5	5.2
Uzbekistan	42.0	47.0	1.6
Kazakhstan	29.0	65.3	1.8
Georgia	70.5	21.6	1.9
Azerbaidzhan	68.5	26.3	2.2

Source: *Pechat' SSSR v 1990 g.* (Moskva, 1991), pp. 144–148.

The table above shows the extent to which book production in the republics has been linguistically reorientated, and may be compared with Table 4.

As we can see, the linguistic composition of book production is changing faster in the Baltic states and the Caucasus, where national state structures are being established more rapidly although in completely different ways. There is no doubt that cultural policy in the new states, and the increasing emigration of the Russian population from them, will prevent for some time the natural development of bilingualism there. At present the process is being deliberately impeded, as it formerly was in the USSR but in the opposite sense: in a number of republics the proportion of the population with good Russian language competence is falling, especially among young people.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt about the urgent need for bilingualism as a part of the normal development of Russia as well as of the new sovereign states. One example to demonstrate this relates to the situation in higher education. A study carried out in 1990 at the Institute of Engineering and Economics in Kharkov (Ukraine) showed that it would be impossible to introduce educational programmes in Ukrainian, as required by the new national development strategy. Of the students polled who had been living in Ukraine for more than ten years, 25% did not know Ukrainian, though 37.5% of these were of Ukrainian origin. Neither those who knew no Ukrainian (41.4% of those asked), nor those who spoke it well (46.85% of respondents), wished to trans-

fer to Ukrainian as a language of instruction. In such a pragmatic matter as obtaining one's education, it seems that linguistic competence is a stronger factor than ethnic feeling.<sup>11</sup>

The problem of bilingualism in the immediate future will be determined by the political development of each country concerned. The leader of newly sovereign Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, has recently declared to his people: 'we have to get rid of the complex of internationalism'. The question then arises: what is being offered instead? What shape will cultural relations take between Russia and the new sovereign states? What educational and cultural policies will they pursue? The answers to these questions will significantly influence migration processes and the spheres of activity of language usage. However, there is no doubt that the future lies not in competition between cultures, but in dialogue as between equals and progressive interaction. Neither nations nor languages nor cultures, as such, are historical ends in themselves, but rather the free and cultured individual, capable of determining his or her own existence within the culture.

Translated from Russian. Translation edited by Gregory Walker.

<sup>11</sup> N. N. Vnukova and V. N. Leont'eva, 'Real'noe dvuiazychie v ukrainskom vuze', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1991 (6), pp. 92–96.

# An Informational Babylon? Views of Library Terminology from East and West, from Past and Present\*

Inese A. Smith

## Introduction

The international conference ‘The Terminology of Library Science’<sup>1</sup> was held to bring together librarians and bibliographers—from both East and West—who were concerned about the state of terminology relating to librarianship and, to a lesser extent, information science. There were papers from representatives of Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia<sup>2</sup> and the UK. Most of the contributors were involved in one way or another with the development of dictionaries of library terminology in a multilingual environment. Those from the Baltic States and Eastern Germany were particularly concerned with the creation of terminology that was not only modern and conceptually equivalent to that used in the West, but also unencumbered by the ideological overtones that had been the inevitable result of Soviet domination.

Consideration of library terminology may not seem fascinating on first reflection, but language, be it oral or written, is the primary means of communication in any culture.<sup>3</sup> Professional language, in other words, professional terminology, is the means of communication within a particular discipline or profession. The goal of such a professional vocabulary is to have a body of concepts or knowledge that:

1. will be understood within the context of this discipline;
2. will facilitate communication within the profession and those tangential to it; and
3. will help to spread information about work and developments in the field.

The area of librarianship and information work is no exception. In translation, of course, the professional terminology should facilitate transnational communication and understanding. However, this is not always so, as some of the examples in this article will illustrate and as, indeed, did the papers at the

\* This article is the revised version of a paper ‘Library Terminology Pre- and Post-Communism’, presented at the COSEELIS Annual Conference, Manchester, 24 September 1993.

<sup>1</sup> Sponsored by the National Library of Latvia, the conference was held in Riga, Latvia, 26 April to 1 May 1993.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian delegates were not able to attend, but their papers and/or abstracts were tabled at the conference.

<sup>3</sup> I. A. Smith. ‘The importance of terminology in transnational communication’.

conference, some of which were the first presentation that the delegate had ever attempted in English. It would not be far wrong to say that, instead of facilitation of communication, translation had quite the opposite effect—almost a breakdown of communication in some cases.

### **Ideologisation of Library Terminology and its Aftermath**

As professional visits became more common during the years of glasnost preceding August 1991, Baltic colleagues explained to their visitors about the imposition of the Russian/communist ideology on all aspects of life and work since World War Two, and also about the russification of the local cultures and languages, including the terminology of librarianship. In the Soviet Union, ideological correctness was also of paramount importance. Therefore, it was expected that most of the conference papers would discuss problems related mainly to these two issues. Indeed, many of them did, some quite aggressively, but there were also historical issues to consider. In fact, the terminology of three periods must be considered: pre-, during and post-communism. In the case of the Russian librarians this meant the pre-revolutionary (i.e. pre-1917) period, 1917–1991 and the period since the breakup of the Soviet Union. For the Baltic colleagues, the periods were pre-World War Two (mostly the 1920s and 30s), 1945–1991 and post-1991. The emphasis was mainly on post-1991 and concerns with terminology were linked to:

1. the evolution and development of library systems and the impact of independence on restructuring the systems;
2. the processes involved (even the very concept of ‘work’ was a contentious issue);
3. the products/results of the processes;
4. the contents of the products (i.e. bibliographic terminology, such as cataloguing terminology, classification numbers etc.); and
5. the problems of terminology associated with increasing use of information technology.

All of the above are linked to:

1. functioning in a multilingual environment (this concern was shared by Danish, Finnish and German colleagues); and
2. the problems of language *per se*, the mechanisms for approval of terminology and the compilation of multilingual dictionaries and glossaries.

The republics of the former Soviet Union functioned in at least a bilingual environment—Russian and the national language of the republic. With the migration of peoples within the Soviet Union there was actually a multilingual environment, with Russian being the official language. That, of course,

changed in the 1990s, with the national language becoming the official language of the country, certainly in the Baltic States. The problems that this changeover caused are well known, as are the political repercussions that are reverberating even into 1994 and being given considerable coverage by the western media. Added to this is now the increasing need of librarians and information workers also to be conversant with yet more languages, particularly English and German. A hardship faced by all librarians and others engaged in work with terminology is the problem of access to professional literature in English and German because of the lack of availability of books in these languages, to say nothing of periodical literature.

The contributors from the Baltic States,<sup>4</sup> Finland<sup>5</sup> and Germany<sup>6</sup> were all involved in the compilation of multilingual dictionaries of library science terminology (particularly as relating to bibliographies and catalogues). It was also interesting to note that terminology must be approved at different levels by terminological commissions and subcommissions. In the West, it seems that professional terminology evolves quite naturally and develops at the pace of professional practice and research. This applies at a general level to whole fields of activity and also to specific concepts taken from thesauri for indexing purposes. Nobody worries particularly much about a multiplicity of synonyms, British *vs.* American spelling, ambiguity or lack of precision in expression. Also, few people worry about someone approving or disapproving of terminology, except possibly at the level of political correctness (in America) or labels that might give offence to a particular minority. Not so in the former Soviet Union. To give a context for this situation, a brief diagram of the bureaucracy that was and is involved with acceptance of terminology in the Baltic States is given below.

#### pre-World War Two

National terminological commissions (by discipline)

— these struggled with the problem of the influence of German

#### post-World War Two

Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Commission on Terminology

Academies of Sciences of the Republics, Commission on Terminology

<sup>4</sup> H. Vihma, 'Estonian Catalogue Terms'; I. Piibeleht, 'Activities on Terminology of the National Library of Estonia'; A. Maulīņa, 'Bibliotekārā terminoloģija starp pagātni un nākotni' (Library terminology (in Latvia) between the past and the future); V. Rimša, 'The Development and Ordering of Librarianship Terms in Lithuania'; I. Šeškevičiūtė, 'Some Principles of Librarianship Term Selection for the Lithuanian Explanatory Dictionary'.

<sup>5</sup> R. Siunala, 'Problems of Library Terminology as Reflected in Practical Work on a Two-Language Glossary'.

<sup>6</sup> G. Vasilēvičs, 'Bibliotēku terminoloģija Austrum- un Rietumvācijā: salīdzināmā analīze' (Library terminology in East and West Germany: a comparative analysis).

- this differed from the previous commissions in that any terminology they approved was influenced by close contacts with the Russian terminology and in the end had to be approved in that context

#### **Subcommissions by discipline**

- for librarianship, the commission was based at the Lenin Library in Moscow
- Baltic—the commission was based in the Research and Methodological Departments of the State Libraries
- Subsections by specialist activity (bibliography, cataloguing, collections, reader services etc. (representatives from these subsections contributed to the subcommission)

#### **post-1991**

National commissions<sup>7</sup> (also now part of the structure of the local Academy of Sciences)

#### **Subcommissions by discipline**

- for librarianship, the subcommissions are based in the Research Departments of the national libraries
- Subsections by specialist activity

The deliberations in these commissions and subcommissions are frequent but endless and the approach varies as well, which may cause a problem for practitioners. While a commission might be theorising about the 'conceptual apparatus' of a discipline and saying that you cannot have terminology until the theory has been worked out, the practitioner needs words to describe processes, products and activities that are being dealt with. Just one example of this dilemma: with the westernisation of systems and the implementation of library automation, a Latvian version of the ISBD(M) was needed so as to relate to fields in MARC. Therefore, someone at the National Library was given the job of translating the ISBD(M) and he presented a paper on his work, and handed out a list of 145 terms and their Latvian equivalents.<sup>8</sup> The great majority of terms did not cause any problems because they existed in the previous Soviet cataloguing standard and in the Latvian translation of it. Complications arose with terms that had not been described in the

<sup>7</sup>For example, the Terminology Commission of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, which meets weekly, has about twenty subcommissions by discipline. The one on Librarianship is based at the Research Department of the National Library of Latvia and it is responsible for compiling, creating and defining library science and related terminology, together with indicating equivalents in English, German and Russian (A. Maulina to I. A. Smith, 7 February 1994).

<sup>8</sup> A. Bērziņš, 'Grāmatu bibliogrāfiskā apraksta standarta ISBD(M) terminu latviskošanas piemēri' (Examples of terms in the Latvian version of the standard for bibliographic description of monographs ISBD(M)).

standard (e.g. preliminary pages), had not existed, because they were not part of the ‘apparatus’ (e.g. manufacturer, distributor), or terms with possibly more than one meaning (e.g. edition—*izdevums*), which in Latvian can mean a document as a physical entity or, as here, a particular version of a book, as in second or third edition). In this author’s opinion, the National Library representative had done a very good job of finding the Latvian equivalents, but that particular session of the conference happened to be attended by someone from the national terminology commission. She took exception to a number of terms, but her main objection was to the existence of the list—how could someone ‘publish’ (handing out was considered equivalent to publishing) such a list of terms without the approval of the commission? On the problem of developing terminology, a Latvian colleague was once asked: ‘Why don’t you just make up some terms and use them until something better comes along?’ The answer was ‘It’s not that easy.’ Now one could begin to understand why!

Since this paper aims to contrast the past and the present, an amusing example from the past illustrates the dilemma of the official structure being imposed on language and the illogical results that emerge.<sup>9</sup> In the late 1970s and early 80s, one of the leading theoreticians on terminology was E. Sukiasian, head of the Lenin Library Cataloguing Department and later its Deputy Director. He decided that the terms *klassifikator* and *klassifikatsiia* should be eliminated from library terminology and replaced by *sistematizator* and *sistematizatsiia*. *Klassifikatsiia* was to be allowed to remain only if it denoted a particular system of classification (e.g. Decimal classification). This decision was codified in the All-Union Standard 7.39–1982 called *Sistematizatsiia i predmetizatsiia*. So, the new order resulted with the following peculiarity, which suffers somewhat in translation:

*Someone, who must be called a **sistematizator**,*  
*using a **classification** schedule,*  
*adjusting the **classification** formula,*  
*accepting the **classification** rules that apply,*  
*finding the appropriate section of the **classification**,*  
*and writing the **classification** number,*  
*has **sistematized** the document.*

Where’s the (linguistic) logic in that?

The interesting consequence of this illogicality was that the Classification Subsection of the Latvian Library Terminology Commission, after many deliberations, unanimously agreed that the All-Union Standard could only apply to the Russian language and could not regulate terminology in Latvian. So, everything in Latvian was to continue as before, with a *klasifikātors* carrying out *klasificēšana*. Any discussions in Russian would follow the new rule. Voilà!

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by J. Augstkalns in ‘Pa E. Sukiasjana pēdām’ (In the footsteps of E. Sukiasian).

On the subject of problems of logic and language, it is also worth mentioning another problem with terminology that was a direct consequence of the process of russification during the post-war years—the imposition of ideology on the practice of librarianship. This author was already familiar with the problem in Latvian, but did not realize how acute it was also in Estonian and Lithuanian. One of the most widespread ideological concepts was ‘work with readers’ (in other words, making sure readers read the right books)—*rabota s chitatelem*—which directly translated into Lithuanian is *darbas su skaitytoju*.<sup>10</sup> According to Lithuanian grammar, ‘work’ is a directed action and so should indicate the instrument of the action, not the object. You can ‘work with a spade’, but not with a reader! Similarly with another very popular term in the post-war period, *bibliograficheskii apparat*, which was literally translated as *bibliografinis aparatas*. The objection was, of course, that ‘apparatus’ is a mechanical or technical object and, therefore, cannot be used logically in this context, so the term for ‘bibliographical tools’ should be, and now is, *bibliografinės priemonės*. And so the list could continue. From Lithuania alone there were papers on terminology problems related to:

library work (activities),<sup>11</sup>  
 library collections,<sup>12</sup>  
 bibliography,<sup>13</sup>  
 dictionary development.<sup>14</sup>

Similar concerns were voiced by participants from Estonia,<sup>15</sup> Latvia<sup>16</sup> and Germany<sup>17</sup> (where the dilemma of one language with different meanings for the same term is acute)—each with the slant of their language peculiarities and reflecting the changes that had taken place and were still in progress.

All are linked to the first concern that was mentioned at the beginning of this article—the evolution and development of library systems and the impact of independence on restructuring the systems.

The problem can also be illustrated from one of the Russian papers.<sup>18</sup> According to the author, in pre-revolutionary Russia, there were four basic kinds of libraries: state libraries (funded by government); private libraries (funded by private persons); societal libraries (funded by certain societies or organ-

<sup>10</sup> V. Rimša (note 4).

<sup>11</sup> D. Martinkutė, ‘Terminology Problems of Library Activity in Lithuania’.

<sup>12</sup> N. Bliūdžiuvienė, ‘Library Stocks Classification: Terminological Aspect in Lithuania’.

<sup>13</sup> V. Černiauskaitė, ‘Specific Problems of Bibliography Terms in Lithuania’.

<sup>14</sup> I. Šeškevičiūtė (note 4).

<sup>15</sup> H. Vihma; I. Piibeleht (note 4).

<sup>16</sup> S. Liniņa, ‘Bibliotēkzinātnes terminoloģija: ietekmētājfaktori un problēmas’ (Library science terminology: influences and problems).

<sup>17</sup> G. Vasilēvičs (note 6).

<sup>18</sup> For example, I. Matveeva, ‘Library Types and Forms in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: The Evolution of Library Terminology’.

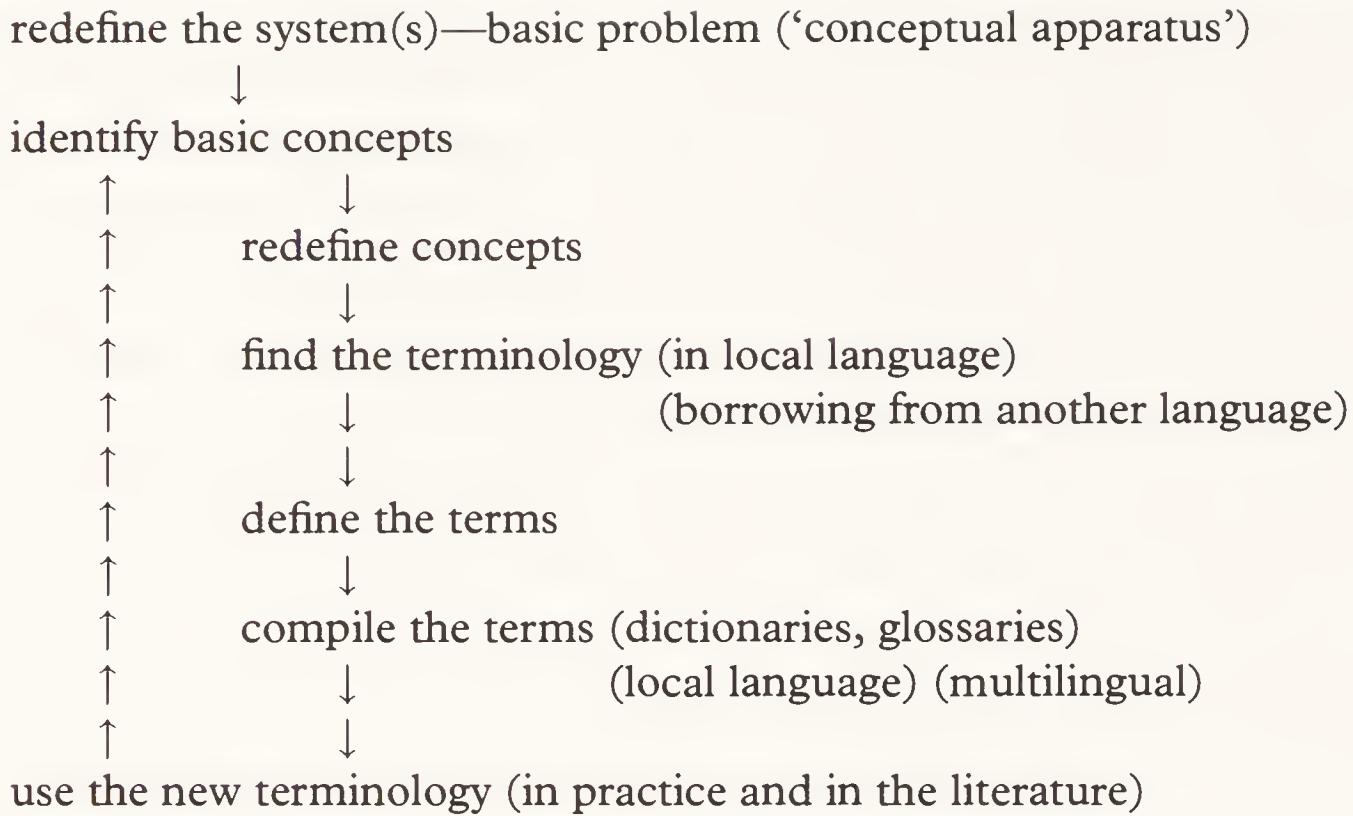
isations); and local libraries (funded by local authorities—*zemstva*). These libraries were further defined by three conditions of practice: conditions of usage (free or fee-paying); degree of accessibility (open to certain categories of the population, but closed to others); and collection policy (universal, special, etc.). The degree of accessibility usually defined the name of the type, so: public (for all public), people's (for common people), children, military personnel, people belonging to a particular society. By far the most widespread types of libraries were the public libraries and the libraries of societies. People's libraries meant libraries for the poor and, according to their funding, the most common types were those of the Ministry of Education, the Church, and charitable societies. Sometimes additional terms were inserted, such as *volostnaia narodnaia* (district people's).

During the period 1917 to the 1980s, nearly all titles and types of libraries typical of the pre-revolutionary period disappeared and the term 'public' library was preserved only for very large libraries; the term 'society' library disappeared totally, both as a type and a title because the societies they were linked to disappeared. Both types were replaced by the term 'mass' library. All the former public, societal, private and commercial libraries became 'mass' libraries. In the Baltic States, the same changes came into force in the post-World War Two years, with absorption into the Soviet Union. It is interesting to note that in the present climate, one of the types of library to re-emerge is the society library—enormous numbers of societies have been reestablished or been newly established all over the former Soviet Union, and many of them are developing libraries within the special remit of the interests of their members.

### **Independence and Re-Structuring**

Changes of official status and name are only one thing that relates to terminology. Far more difficult problems are associated with the changes on an economic level and on the level of organisational structures within library systems, attitudes towards the work and service to the public. Everything that is going on needs words to describe it. As library systems are being reshaped to meet economic and social demands, a coherent and unambiguous vocabulary is needed to describe the changes and redefine the concepts. If one were to try and flowchart the problem that librarians are having with terminology, it would appear something like this:





Actually, the whole process is not a finite flowchart, but cyclical and evolving.

One could see from the papers that were presented at the conference that colleagues were struggling at every level of the diagram. And they were concerned with going about it properly in a 'scientific' way. As far as this author was concerned, the whole concept of *nauchnyi* and its translation 'scientific' should be abolished from the vocabulary, as should *metodicheskii*. Both extinctions would be a good start in forming a new 'conceptual apparatus', but colleagues were not quite ready for such a radical annihilation.

A very good example of the difficulties resulting from restructuring and redefining the functions of a library is the case of one of the prestige special libraries in Latvia. What used to be the Scientific Technical Library of the Latvian SSR was changed in November 1991 to the Patent Technical Library of Latvia.<sup>19</sup> Laws have already been enacted in Parliament relating to both patents and trademarks, and in the near future there will also be a law on manufacturing standards. The change in name has reflected the radical change in the library's collection development policy and in its information service. The library has also compiled an enormous database on patents, trademarks and standards, as well as the literature that it has available relating to these documents. The main problem is that literature relating to patents is practically non-existent in Latvian—it is all in Russian. So they need terminology relating to:

- literature on patents: *patento-assotsiiriemaia literatura*;
- legal aspects of patents: *patento-pravovaia literatura*;
- reference literature on patents: *spravochno-poiskovoi apparat*.

<sup>19</sup> D. Buša, 'Daži apsvērumi par patentu terminoloģiju Latvijā' (A few considerations about patent terminology in Latvia).

A particular problem has been the overlap into the area of the law and legal terminology, for which the representation must be completely exact and unambiguous, and also the overlap with technical and scientific vocabulary. Not only does the library itself need this terminology, but the persons applying for patents and registering trademarks need to do it correctly if they are to comply with the laws and be protected by them. The bibliographers in the library have been working with dictionaries in Russian, German, English and French in order to find definitions that can relate to concepts in Latvian, and it was interesting to note that they considered German vocabulary to be the most precisely formulated and useful for their purposes.

Similar examples can be drawn from the terminology related to information technology that has been developed by the Latvian Academic Library (formerly the Main Library of the Latvian Academy of Sciences).<sup>20</sup> However, it was interesting to note that the basis for their efforts was drawn almost entirely from English.

Just an interesting aside on this matter—the terminology in this area has brought into sharp conflict the librarians and the information scientists over the matter of whether a library has ‘users’ or ‘readers’, with the librarians holding out for ‘readers’. Nobody was particularly happy to learn that in English we have ‘users’, ‘readers’, ‘clients’, ‘patrons’, ‘customers’, ‘punters’, ‘Joe Public’ and the like, because that did not solve their problem. Probably this old battle between librarians and information scientists will eventually be solved by LIS education and the increasing familiarity of librarians with information technology.

## Conclusion

Several aspects of terminology covered at the conference do not logically fall into any of the previous sections. One of these is the concept of value judgements and vocabulary, and what in the US is called ‘political correctness’. Since there is an increasing attention to the development of thesauri and subject headings with the implementation of online catalogues, it was suggested that it might be interesting for conference participants to hear a presentation that was not involved with collections or russification. Hence there was a paper on issues relating to neutrality and stereotyping in indexing terminology, concentrating on the problems of avoiding terminology related to sexism, racism, ageism and some other ‘isms’. The reaction of the audience was similar to that of a student who came to this author several years ago with a request to supervise a dissertation for which the suggested title was ‘Public library services for the blind, deaf, dumb, crippled and crazy in Nigeria’. It was explained that the

<sup>20</sup> G. Fricnovičs, I. Ilziņa and I. Indāns, ‘Jauno informācijas tehnoloģiju izmantošana Latvijas Akadēmiskajā bibliotēkā un ar to saistītās terminoloģijas problēmas’ (Use of the new information technology at the Latvian Academic Library and problems relating to the terminology of IT).

topic was acceptable, but not if he called them that; however, he couldn't quite understand why the title might be offensive!

On the subject of dictionaries, it was interesting to discover how the problems of definition and the borrowing of terms from English and German were approached calmly and rationally by the authors of the Danish<sup>21</sup> and Finnish<sup>22</sup> papers, because their experiences with multilingual terminology were directly analogous to those of the Baltic representatives. To summarize, the problems that arise when terms are translated from one language to another are:

1. differences in the library systems of the countries concerned;
2. different stages of library terminology development;
3. concepts known only to one of the countries; and
4. same terms, but different usages in different countries (e.g. *indekss* = classification number/(subject) index; *tēze* = abstract/thesis).

But after all, is this matter being taken all too seriously? As noted by the Danish speaker, a bibliography which is an online bibliographic database or a CD-ROM database is still, essentially, a bibliography, no matter what it might be called. Small countries which need to use foreign languages to communicate with colleagues just have to accept that a certain amount of influence will be exerted by the so-called 'major' European languages. Education and increasing competence in English or German will lessen their now seemingly overwhelming impact.

A quote from Anna Maulīņa, one of the conference organisers and head of the Library Terminology Subcommision in Latvia, seems to crystallize the dilemma that faces those working with terminology in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In Latvian terminology today, in general and in library terminology, a sort of informational Babylon seems to rule, which could also be called a transitional phase from totalitarianism to democracy. This phase, it seems, exists in all post-communist Eastern Europe. Changes are taking place in libraries, a new order and new attitudes are developing, the old and familiar names for things and manifestations are changing. New and until now unknown concepts are being added. Thus, we have a confusion of old and new, and an incompatibility not only in theory and practice, but also in thinking. What this condition will bring to Baltic libraries will only be discovered in the future.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> M. Madsen, 'Bibliographic Terminology in Denmark'.

<sup>22</sup> R. Siunala (note 5).

<sup>23</sup> Note 4.

# *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille, 1888–1901:* The Finnish Army's *Chtenie dlia soldat*

J. E. O. Screen

In the imperial Russian army the provision on a regular basis of improving reading matter for the men in the ranks dated from 1847, when *Chtenie dlia soldat* (Reading for Soldiers) first appeared. During its early years the patriotic and moral stories of its pages appear to have aroused little interest on the part of the few literate soldiers, who did not care to lay out their meagre pay on reading matter.<sup>1</sup> The role of the printed word in the inculcation in the soldier of a proper attitude to Emperor, God and Motherland was, however, thought by the military authorities sufficiently important for *Chtenie dlia soldat* to continue. After 1852 its frequency was increased from bi-monthly to monthly. A special effort was made to increase its circulation when it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1897.<sup>2</sup> Its contents, which had a pronounced improving tone, included religious, historical and military-historical articles, short stories, poems and songs and news items relating to the Russian army and to foreign countries. *Chtenie dlia soldat* ceased publication only in 1915. Other periodicals appeared for soldiers to read. The longest-lived—from 1868 to 1914—was *Dosug i delo* (Leisure and Work). This, with *Chtenie dlia soldat*, escaped an official ban on soldiers' journals during the reactionary 1880s and 1890s, though *Dosug i delo* dropped its subtitle, *zhurnal dlia voisk i naroda*, in the early 1890s.<sup>3</sup> Its contents were less overtly didactic, more literary, and seemingly of better average quality than those of *Chtenie dlia soldat*.

Given this Russian background, it is not surprising that the Finnish army also produced a periodical for the enlightenment and entertainment of its soldiers, particularly since the literacy rate in the Finnish army was vastly higher than in the Russian.<sup>4</sup> That such a periodical did not appear until 1888 may simply have reflected the preoccupation of the officers, and in particular the Command Staff (its headquarters), with other matters during the army's early years—the first conscripts had been called up in November 1881—though, possibly,

<sup>1</sup> John Shelton Curtiss, *The Russian Army under Nicholas I, 1825–1855* (Durham, NC, 1965), pp. 255–56; Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *From Serf to Russian Soldier* (Princeton, 1990), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Sota-arkisto [Military Archives of Finland], Päälikköhallitus [Command Staff], P7/10, 32/1897, ff. 198–202. Hereafter references to the Command Staff archives will be cited with the prefix P only.

<sup>3</sup> L. G. Beskrovnyi, *Ocherki po istochnikovedeniiu voennoi istorii Rossii* (Moskva, 1957), pp. 438–39; 'Voennyyia periodicheskiiia izdaniia', *Voennaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1911), p. 596.

<sup>4</sup> On the Finnish army, see J. E. O. Screen, 'The Finnish Army, 1881–1901: a National Force in a Russian Context', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 70, 1992, pp. 453–76; on literacy rates, p. 462.

official Russian reserve towards the proliferation of soldiers' journals at that time may also have played a part. *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* (Readings for Finnish Soldiers), with a parallel Swedish-language edition, *Läsning för den finske soldaten*, clearly bore an intentional resemblance to its Russian exemplar. Its publication resulted from a meeting held by a number of Finnish officers in the autumn of 1887. The journal's aims were to offer 'useful and entertaining reading for the enjoyment of young Finnish soldiers in their spare time', and to be varied and informative.<sup>5</sup>

The introductory article of the first issue, by Major-General Gustaf Aminoff, commander of the Guards Finnish Rifle Battalion, emphasized the importance of 'soldiers' literature' as a powerful means of developing the military spirit and making better soldiers. Although Finland already possessed in *Finsk Militär Tidskrift* a military science journal, there had hitherto been no publication for the soldier.<sup>6</sup> *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* would

try as hard as it could to be of use and pleasure to the Finnish conscript by means of articles which were easy to read, military stories and answers to questions not covered by the regulations but which nevertheless concerned the development of the soldier.

The aim was to familiarize the Finnish soldier with military life, to acquaint him with the Russian soldier and to make him develop into a faithful soldier whom the Emperor-Grand Duke could trust to defend throne and fatherland.<sup>7</sup>

The initial editorial board comprised five officers, all stationed in Helsinki. Major-General Baron Gustaf Aminoff has already been mentioned. Two officers came from the Uusimaa Rifle Battalion: Lieutenant-Colonel Viktor Neovius and Captain (subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel) Baron Gustaf Adolf Gripenberg, a capable military historian and writer, who served as editorial secretary throughout the journal's existence. Responsibility for *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* rested, however, with the Command Staff, the headquarters of the army: Colonel Reinhold von Willebrand, the chief of staff, was chief editor, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fritiof Blåfjeld, a staff officer, was treasurer.<sup>8</sup> The treasurer's name was soon dropped from the list. The editorial board came to comprise just three officers, one of whom was always the commander of one of the two Finnish battalions stationed in Helsinki. Lieutenant-Colonel Max Alfthan, the chief of staff in the Command Staff, became responsible editor in 1897.

There was an understandable overlap between the editorial boards of

<sup>5</sup> 'Lukijalle', *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* (hereafter LSS), 6/1901, pp. 187–88.

<sup>6</sup> On *Finsk Militär Tidskrift* see J. E. O. Screen, 'Finsk Militär Tidskrift 1881–82 and 1884–1901: Professionalism and Patriotism', in *Miscellanea* (Helsinki, 1989), pp. 181–202.

<sup>7</sup> G. Aminoff, 'Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille', LSS 1/1888, pp. 5–6.

<sup>8</sup> LSS 1/1888, front cover, verso. The names of the editorial board, fees paid for contributions and some instructions for contributors appeared on the covers.

*Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* and *Finsk Militär Tidskrift*. ‘Not a small number’ of officers contributed articles to *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille*, but a good deal of its contents were written by NCOs and men.<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, arrangements were made for articles to be vetted before they were submitted to the journal: from 1889 the contents of articles had to be approved either by battalion or reserve district commanders.<sup>10</sup> The reviewer in *Finsk Militär Tidskrift* of the first two numbers, Dr C. F. Wahlberg, remarked on the importance for the success of the journal of getting contributions written ‘on the barrack room table’, with the encouragement of company commanders. He believed that the ‘clumsy narration’ of the private soldier would make a lasting impression on the reader because truth and conviction would ‘shine forth from every letter’. He criticized the heavy editing of an article of which, by chance, he had seen the original. Nevertheless, Wahlberg was welcoming and well-disposed towards the enterprise.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike *Finsk Militär Tidskrift*, which received considerable subsidies from the Finnish government (the Senate), *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* was in theory almost self-supporting. The last number claimed proudly that the soldiers had spent 77,000 mk on the journal and that they had met its expenses with the exception of one small subsidy from the Senate.<sup>12</sup> This amounted to 500 mk voted in March 1894.<sup>13</sup> In practice, the cost of the journal was met from contributions levied by the Command Staff on the battalions and the reserve districts. These were fixed at 400 mk per battalion and 100 mk per reserve district in 1888, but had settled down as 300 mk per regular unit and 100 mk per reserve district by the mid-1890s.<sup>14</sup> The money came from company artel funds, which meant that it could not be spent on the soldiers in other ways; in that sense the soldiers did pay for the journal. From the incomplete accounts of the journal, it appears that some copies were sold to individual soldiers at a discounted rate, but this practice had either ended in 1896 or ceased to be reflected in the accounts from that year. Most copies must have been distributed to company and battalion reading rooms and libraries.<sup>15</sup> There were very few sales through booksellers. As far as the army was concerned, the cover price was thus a fiction. The price per annum, which was at first

<sup>9</sup> [G. A. Gripenberg], ‘Kortfattad översikt af den värnepliktiga finska militärens utbildning under åren 1881–1901’, in *Finska militären 1881–1901* ([Helsingfors], 1901), p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> P1/2, Circular, 21 January 1889, no. 60.

<sup>11</sup> C. F. Wahlberg, ‘Militärlitteratur’, *Finsk Militär Tidskrift*, 11/1888, pp. 590–92.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Lukijalle’, LSS 6/1901, pp. 187–88. The value of the Finnish mark was set at 4.00 to the rouble when introduced in 1860 but had risen to 2.66 by 1900.

<sup>13</sup> *Militieexpeditionens ... berättelse under åren 1894–1896* (Helsingfors, 1897), p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> P13/28. Konto och journal för ‘Läsning för den finske soldaten’; P14/29, 2/1888, 2/1889.

<sup>15</sup> On libraries, etc., see [Gripenberg], ‘Kortfattad översikt’ (note 9), p. 48; Eero-Eetu Saarinen, *Ensimmäiset asevelvolliset reservimiehet: Lammin, Urjalan, Oriveden ja Saarijärven reservikomppaniat 1883–99* (Helsinki, 1967), p. 207.

14.50 mk, fell to 14.00 mk in 1892, rose to 15.50 mk in 1896 and dropped appreciably to only 3 mk in 1901. By that time the decision to disband the army meant that there was no need for the journal to maintain a credit balance to assist future issues.

The journal's annual income from the army in the mid-1890s amounted to some 3,800 mk. Printing costs were understandably the biggest expense, totalling some 1,820 mk in 1896. Unfortunately no reference has been found to the size of the print run. The editorial secretary had a relatively large honorarium of 1,000 mk per annum, and the treasurer 400 mk. To see these sums in perspective it should be noted that a captain's basic pay was 4,000 mk per annum. Fees to contributors, translators and proof-readers made up the balance of expenditure.<sup>16</sup> The journal paid 4 mk per printed page for articles, 3–4 mk for summaries and 2.50 mk for translations, according to the information printed on its covers. A soldier or NCO who was paid, say, 20 mk for an article was doing very well since a conscript's pay was only 36 mk a year, and a regular platoon sergeant's 420 mk per annum.

The frequency of the journal rose from three issues in 1888 to nine per annum in 1889–90, but fell to eight in 1891–93 and six in 1894–95 and 1897–1901, with seven issues in 1896.<sup>17</sup> Double issues were not uncommon. The original cover, which depicted two soldiers standing in a summer forest landscape, was changed in 1889 to show a line of soldiers advancing in a winter landscape: this continued until the journal's demise. There were very occasional illustrations (diagrams to accompany technical articles outnumbered pictures of events described) or maps showing campaigns or manoeuvres but, appropriately, *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* was a journal for reading. And there were plenty of pages to read. Even the three issues of 1888 totalled 178 pages, while 1889 rose to what proved a peak of 464 pages. The size declined from 369 pages in 1892 to 270 pages in 1893, and levelled off at around 220 pages except for 1899 with 251 pages and 1900 with 293 pages.

The contents of the journal fell into five broad categories: articles designed to exhort and improve the soldier, those providing information of a military and (occasionally) general character, descriptions of the activities of the army, military history, and articles on sport. Some articles, of course, combined the characteristics of two or more of these categories. Most material was Finnish in origin, but particularly in the journal's early years articles were taken from Russian sources (and thus had Russian subject-matter), and a few items were derived from Swedish or, more rarely, French sources.

The most straightforward articles setting forth the soldier's duty told the stories of faithful Russian soldiers whose heroic conduct in battle—usually

<sup>16</sup> P13/28.

<sup>17</sup> Details are conveniently given by Jussi Kurikka & Marketta Takkala, *Suomen aikakauslehdistön bibliografia 1782–1955* (Helsinki, 1983), pp. 143, 146.

in the recent Russo-Turkish War or in the Caucasus—had marked them out as exemplars. Even the ordinary, rather simple, soldier could become a hero through his conduct in battle.<sup>18</sup> The reader was urged, explicitly or implicitly, to follow the example of these ordinary men who revealed heroic qualities just when most needed. Rather more subtle, and also Finnish instead of Russian, were the stories of conscripts who made good in the army after a difficult or even a bad and rebellious start. The soldier could read of how Rifleman Rakola became a fine soldier and subsequently a good farmer after reforming his ways. Paavo Mäkelä was a wild young man whose character gave him a hard time in the army before he improved. Two country boys, Paavo and Pekka, reacted differently to the army at first, one getting drunk and being led astray. But both made good, one as a sergeant, the other as a corporal, after learning ‘faithfulness in the service, an upright disposition, keenness in their work, patience in adversity, a readiness to carry out even the most difficult tasks’. Another soldier, Eero, described his recruit service and told how despite a slow start he became a corporal. A two-act play by a bugler from the Oulu Battalion showed how country boys were improved by service in the army.<sup>19</sup> The reader could see clearly from what his fellow soldiers wrote of their experiences that it was never too late to develop a positive attitude to the service and to enjoy the self-confidence and respect that were the rewards of duty well performed.

How soldiers should conduct themselves—dutifully, obediently and soberly—formed the theme of several articles. Sergeant-Major Jernvall of the Guards Battalion, an almost legendary figure in the army, wrote in 1890 on the virtues of temperance: ‘We have a sacred, inexorable duty to be obedient, upright, industrious, thrifty and sober, decent citizens’.<sup>20</sup> Duty to the fatherland, the religious aspects of duty and the enduring character of the brotherhood engendered in the army were persistent messages.<sup>21</sup> Religious sentiments were reinforced by the articles by regimental chaplains published from time to time

<sup>18</sup> For example, I. G., ‘Sotamies Ivan Pavlov’, *LSS* 2/1888, pp. 26–33; -l-, ‘Sotaretkeltä Akul-Teke’ä vastaan 1879’, *LSS* 4/1889, pp. 23–37; ‘Miten Stepanoff sai Yrjön-ristin’, *LSS* 5/1892, pp. 154–59; ‘Ruotumies Tapani Gordienko’, *LSS* 5/1893, pp. 111–20; ‘Achti linnan urhoollinen puolustus Syyskuun 7 p:stä Lokakuun 4 p:ään 1848’, *LSS* 6/1898, pp. 189–96.

<sup>19</sup> J. E. W., ‘Kuinka Rakolan Taavetista tuli kunnon sotamies ja hyvä maanviljelijä’, *LSS* 8/1889, pp. 1–21; M-m, ‘Mitä Mäkelän Paavo sotavaessä oppi’, *LSS* 7/1890, pp. 322–31; K., ‘Kolme vuotta sotapalveluksessa’, *LSS* 3/1890, pp. 133–50 (quotation p. 150); Eero, ‘Palanen muis-telmia rekryyti-ajoiltani’, *LSS* 1/1893, pp. 19–24; Oululaisen torvensoittaja, ‘Muuttuu mielet. 2-näytöksinen huvi-näytelmä’, *LSS* 1–2/1898, pp. 31–59.

<sup>20</sup> J. Jernvall, ‘Muutamia sanoja raittiudesta Suomen sotamiehille’, *LSS* 2/1890, pp. 55–62 (quotation p. 62). On Jernvall’s reputation see Paul Linder, *Keisarillisen kaartin upseerina* (Helsingissä, 1938), pp. 5–6.

<sup>21</sup> J. M., ‘Hyvät asetoverit’, *LSS* 5–6/1889, pp. 51–56; K. A. Hyrkstedt, ‘Kristityn sotilaan etevimmät ja tarpeellisimmat hyveet’, *LSS* 1/1890, pp. 47–53; L-vala, ‘Kaksi arrestilaista’, *LSS* 1/1893, pp. 25–27; Reserviläinen, ‘Mitä opittava on kuuden viikon reservipalvelusajasta?’, *LSS* 7–8/1893, pp. 238–46; L-vala, ‘Sota-veljeys’, *LSS* 3/1894, pp. 98–101; A. N., ‘Eräitä toveruuteen koskevia seikkoja’, *LSS* 2–3/1901, pp. 99–123.

to mark Christmas or the New Year.<sup>22</sup>

If the reader was unconvinced by appeals to his sense of duty, he might be brought to realize that his lot in the army was a good deal better than it would have been in an earlier period or in other circumstances. The hardships of the Russian soldier in the Caucasus were contrasted with the favourable position of the Finnish conscript.<sup>23</sup> The young conscript should not complain, because his situation was better than in the armies of a while ago.<sup>24</sup> An article that quoted authentic-sounding anti-conscription sentiments—for example, the notion that men were forced into service solely for the benefit of the commanders who enjoyed making them suffer—urged instead a right attitude to the service and correct conduct.<sup>25</sup> Young soldiers should avoid grumbling, one veteran declared. He also contrasted the negative popular attitude to the enlisted soldiers of the old Finnish army with the favour with which the conscript was generally at that time rightly regarded.<sup>26</sup> Another old soldier, reflecting on ten years' military service, stated that soldiers who complained did so because they thought of themselves rather than of others. Mothers and fiancées would not weep for their men killed in war because they would know that they had sacrificed their lives for the good of others, for the honour of their ruler, their country and their nation.<sup>27</sup> A natural accompaniment to the patriotic role of the soldier was the role of the army in the development of the nation. An article by an officer, addressed to the army's NCOs and those who aspired to become NCOs, stressed the most important duty of the NCO as the development or upbringing of the soldiers for their noble work. The NCO was the educator of the Finnish nation.<sup>28</sup>

The majority of articles providing information of a military character were of direct use to soldiers. They publicised changes to the service regulations, for example concerning garrison service, shooting, drill and field service, providing either summaries or quotations which in the case of some sections amounted to the complete official text.<sup>29</sup> Such information kept the soldier up to date. An article on the three-line (M/91 Mosin) rifle appeared in 1896 when this

<sup>22</sup> For example, K. A. Hyrkstedt, 'Joulumietteitä', *LSS* 8–9/1890, pp. 381–90; Alfons Lönnroth, 'Joulutervehdys', *LSS* 8/1892, pp. 288–91; 'Joulu kasarmissa', *LSS* 6/1894, pp. 222–24; Alfons Lönnroth, 'Hyvää uutta vuotta', *LSS* 1/1896, pp. 1–4.

<sup>23</sup> -l-, 'Niitä näitä Kaukasiasta', *LSS* 2/1890, pp. 71–85.

<sup>24</sup> 'Niitä näitä muinaisajan sotilaselämäästä', *LSS* 8/1892, pp. 275–87.

<sup>25</sup> J. K. A., 'Havannoita', *LSS* 3–4/1895, pp. 89–114.

<sup>26</sup> G. Wigren, 'Kuinka miehistön värväystä toimitettiin muinais-aikoina maaseuduilla', *LSS* 2/1895, pp. 62–90.

<sup>27</sup> K. A. S., 'Asetovereilleni', *LSS* 2/1890, pp. 86–88.

<sup>28</sup> O. E., 'Muutamia neuvoja aliupseereilleemme ja niille, jotka siksi pyrkivät', *LSS* 1/1893, pp. 1–18.

<sup>29</sup> For example, 'Uusi ohjesääntö linnanpalveluksesta', *LSS* 1/1891, pp. 76–83 and 4/1891, pp. 234–35; 'Uusi ohjesääntö ampumaharjoituksista', *LSS* 2/1899, pp. 66–69; 'Kentäpalvelus sodan aikana', *LSS* 1/1900, pp. 16–35; 'Uusi rintamapalveluksen ohjesääntö', *LSS* 6/1900, pp. 242–75.

new weapon was first issued to Finnish troops.<sup>30</sup> Other articles discussed the characteristics of infantry, cavalry and artillery, practical cooperation between infantry and cavalry, and even the military use of balloons, dogs and carrier pigeons. These were mostly of general interest rather than direct practical use.<sup>31</sup>

A series of articles by Major-General Synnerberg, commander of the Guards Finnish Rifle Battalion and a member of the editorial board, provided thorough descriptions of the armed forces of the main European powers, including a major study of the history and organization of the Russian army from early times to the time of writing.<sup>32</sup> He also wrote on the military significance of railways in peace and war.<sup>33</sup> These contributions were of a high quality—Synnerberg was a general staff officer—but must have been above the level of most soldiers. However, the conclusion of his article on the Russian army—an exhortation that the faithful, good-hearted and brave Russian soldier should be copied by the Finnish soldier—showed that he wrote with the man in the ranks in mind at that point at least. Information of a general character was offered more rarely by the journal: examples were an account of the metric system (with practical military examples) published when it was coming into use in Finland, and a description of how to use the hectograph duplicator.<sup>34</sup>

*Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* devoted considerable space to articles, most commonly by NCOs, about the activities of the army such as field marches, camps and manoeuvres. In describing the experiences of individual units participating in the army's most enterprising and instructive forms of training, the authors provided a valuable record of their experiences as well as preparing their readers for similar activities in the future. From these articles can be learned the generally warm reception accorded to the troops by the people of the Finnish countryside, the types of training carried out, the exertion of marches in the heat and the pleasures of rest, the impression made by the

<sup>30</sup> '3-linjaisen kiväärin m/91 hajotus, kokoonpano, puhdistus ja hoito', *LSS* 2–3/1896, pp. 45–64.

<sup>31</sup> Georg Synnerberg, 'Kolmen pää-aselajin, jalkaväen, hevosvään ja tykistön synnystä ja tarpeellisuudesta, sekä niiden keskinäisestä yhteis-vaikeutuksesta', *LSS* 8/1889, pp. 22–36; J. R., 'Pari esimerkkiä siitä hyödystä, mikä voipi olla jalkaväen ja ratsuväen patrullien yhdistämisestä', *LSS* 1/1897, pp. 18–22; ★★, 'Ilmapalloista ja niiden käyttämisestä sotaisiin tarkoituksiin', *LSS* 5/1891, pp. 281–96; 'Koirain käyttämisestä etuvartiopalveluksesta', *LSS* 5–6/1889, pp. 1–8; 'Kirjekyyhkyistä ja niiden käyttämisestä sotatoimissa', *LSS* 1/1888, pp. 24–29.

<sup>32</sup> For example, G. Synnerberg, 'Saksan valtakunnan armeijan järjestäminen', *LSS* 4/1892, pp. 101–22; G. Synnerberg, 'Englantilaisen sotaväen järjestäminen', *LSS* 6/1893, pp. 153–71 and 7–8/1893, pp. 197–212; Georg Synnerberg, 'Venäjän sotavoimien järjestäminen. Historiallinen katsaus', *LSS* 3/1890, pp. 89–132; 4/1890, pp. 164–84; 4/1891, pp. 183–204; 5/1891, pp. 237–59; and 6–7/1891, pp. 297–335.

<sup>33</sup> G. Synnerberg, 'Rautateistä ja niiden merkityksestä sotaväen suhteen sekä rauhan että sodan aikana', *LSS* 2/1893, pp. 29–44, and 3–4/1893, pp. 63–75.

<sup>34</sup> 'Uudet mitat ja painot. (Metrijärjestelmä)', *LSS* 3/1889, pp. 19–28; G. Wigren, 'Hektoograafista, sillä kopiomisesta y.m.', *LSS* 2–3/1896, pp. 81–92.

overwhelming size of the Russian camp at Krasnoe Selo, what it was like to travel by troop train or steamship, and the excitement of seeing the Emperor.<sup>35</sup> Some descriptions of manoeuvres are particularly detailed and informative.<sup>36</sup> There are two excellent accounts by Finns of the Russian sapper training camp at Ust' Izhora, probably the only place where Finnish soldiers (albeit in very small numbers) were trained alongside Russians as part of the Russian system, with every mark of success.<sup>37</sup> Accounts of service in the Combined Guards Battalion in St Petersburg and of the experiences of the detachments sent to Moscow for the coronations of Alexander III and Nicholas II drew attention not simply to out-of-the-ordinary duties but also to the Finnish army's wider Russian context.<sup>38</sup> A lengthy article, spread over several issues, explained barrack life, army routine and various aspects of basic training. At the time it would have helped to orientate the conscript to his new surroundings and duties; now it gives an impression of army life that is difficult to reconstruct from other sources.<sup>39</sup>

Military history was also prominent in the journal. Several members or former members of the Guards Finnish Rifle Battalion, who had taken part with the battalion in the Balkan campaign during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, wrote of their experiences. There were useful descriptions of the work of the company set up in 1879 to train NCOs for the new Finnish army, of the first years of the Finnish Dragoon Regiment (formed in 1889–90) and of the Finnish Naval Cadre *Ekipazh* (disbanded in 1881). Most of these historical articles are justifiably recorded in the Finnish historical bibliography.<sup>40</sup> They were significant in showing the soldier of a new army that Finland possessed a military history and, in the case of the Guards Battalion, a distinguished

<sup>35</sup> For example, Fr. Lehti, '2:n Turun, Suomen tarkk'ampuja pataljoonan manööveriretki Elokuussa v. 1890', *LSS* 6/1890, pp. 262–70; Aliupseeri, '29:n Reservikomppanian manööverimatka 7 päivä Elokuuta 1889 Lappeenrannassa', *LSS* 9/1889, pp. 30–35; A. H. Alonen, 'Muistelmia manöövereiltä Lappeenrannasta Perkjärvelle vuonna 1895', *LSS* 4–5/1896, pp. 93–107.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Matkalla ollut, 'Muistiinpanoja Oulun pataljoonan leiriltä Krasnoje Selossa vuonna 1899', *LSS* 6/1899, pp. 191–210; Aug. Heinonen, 'Muistelmia Hämeen pataljoonan osanotosta Suomen sotilaspiirin suuriin syysmanöövereihin 1899', *LSS* 6/1901, pp. 189–201.

<sup>37</sup> A. Hytönen, 'Ensimmäisten Suomen asevelvollisten Ust-Ischoran matka', *LSS* 2/1892, pp. 16–24; K. K., 'Suomalaiset Ust-Ishjoran sapörileirillä v. 1894', *LSS* 3–4/1895, pp. 144–51.

<sup>38</sup> Entinen sotilas, 'Muistelmia palvelusajoiltani H. M. Keisarin yhdistetyssä henkivartiotataljoonassa vuonna 1891–92', *LSS* 7–8/1893, pp. 213–37; J. Ahomäki, 'Suomen kaarti H. M. Keisari Aleksander III kruunauksessa Moskovassa Toukokuun 27 p:nä 1883', *LSS* 7/1892, pp. 231–46; J. Jernvall, 'Kertomus Suomen kaartin osanotosta H. M. Keisarillisten Majesteettiensa Keisari Nikolai II ja Keisarinna Aleksandra Feodorovnan kruunausjuhlallisuksiin Moskovassa 1896', *LSS* 4–5/1897, pp. 89–112.

<sup>39</sup> E. W., 'Kolme vuotta vakinaisessa väessä', *LSS* 4–5/1896, pp. 134–48; 6–7/1896, pp. 159–82; 2–3/1897, pp. 54–68; and 6/1897, pp. 186–209.

<sup>40</sup> J. Vallinkoski & Henrik Schauman, *Suomen historiallinen bibliografia 1544–1900* (Helsinki, 1961), pp. 160–66.

one. There were also a few articles on Russian military history.<sup>41</sup> Nor was general military history neglected, although articles of that type appeared in the journal's later years: on the Franco–Prussian War of 1870–71, the life of Napoleon, and even—derived from a Russian source—an episode from the American Civil War.<sup>42</sup>

Articles devoted to sport were of great importance in *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille*. Skiing and shooting competitions at battalion and army level were well reported, the results of the army's annual shooting competition being published as a supplement from 1894.<sup>43</sup> Each battalion had a small reconnaissance detachment whose men were specially trained in skiing and long-distance patrolling. These detachments undertook long hunting expeditions after bears, wolves and lynx, and accounts of their trips were common in the pages of the journal.<sup>44</sup> Information about sport in the army encouraged emulation and undoubtedly helped to raise standards, particularly of skiing and shooting, both of which activities aroused the interest of the soldiers.

The journal came to an end in 1901 with the disbandment—by Russian fiat—of the army for whose edification it was intended. Curiously, no attempt was made at that time to assess its impact on the soldiers themselves. Gripenberg wrote rather of its future value:

On the one hand it would leave evidence of the private soldier's manner of understanding his situation, his daily life within the army, on the other hand it included numerous accounts of the life of our troops during their twenty-year existence. Its unsophisticated but completely authentic descriptions will undoubtedly come to be of the greatest value for anyone who in the future wishes to outline the history of the Finnish army during the period 1881–1901.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Gripenberg also wrote the similar passage in *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* itself:

Whoever in future wants to procure information about the life of our

<sup>41</sup> For example, I. G., 'Wenäläiset merimiehet Tonavalla', *LSS* 1/1889, pp. 1–15; 2/1889, pp. 42–64; and 3/1889, pp. 33–49; 'Kohtauksia Nizhegorodin rakuunarykmentin historiasta', *LSS* 2/1899, pp. 53–65.

<sup>42</sup> [C. N.], 'Ranskais-saksalainen sota vv. 1870–71', *LSS* 5/1899, pp. 127–49; 6/1899, pp. 211–31; 1/1900, pp. 36–59; 3–4/1900, pp. 123–47; and 5/1900, pp. 198–216; 'Napoleon Bonaparte', *LSS* 2/1900, pp. 61–76; 1/1901, pp. 56–74; and 4–5/1901, pp. 125–44; 'Morganin raida 1863', *LSS* 4–5/1901, pp. 145–63.

<sup>43</sup> For example, K. P., 'Suomen sotaväen kilpa-ammunta leirissä Lappeenrannan luona 29 p. Heinäkuuta 1888', *LSS* 3/1889, pp. 29–32; E. V., 'Hihtokilpailu Kuopion pataljoonassa maaliskuussa 1891', *LSS* 4/1891, pp. 225–33; Urheilija, 'Kertomus Hämeen pataljoonan urheilusta talvella v. 1891', *LSS* 5/1892, pp. 144–53; 'Ilmoitus tuloksista Suomen sotaväen palkintoam-pumisissa vuosina 1892, 1893, 1894', *LSS* 1894, 31 pp.

<sup>44</sup> For example, J. R., '4:nen, Oulun, Suomen tarkk'ampujapataljoonan Jääkärikomennuskunnan hiihtomatka ja karhunjahti keväällä vuona [sic] 1897', *LSS* 4–5/1897, pp. 134–44.

<sup>45</sup> [Gripenberg], 'Kortfattad översikt', p. 50.

Finnish soldiers during these twenty years can find it in plenty in our little journal. Here are many descriptions of life in barracks, camp and bivouac, and in addition readers were told what things were like in former times, in our military tenure and enlisted troops.<sup>46</sup>

The passage of time has proved the truth of these predictions. Although often didactic and idealized, the articles in *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* provide valuable insights into the life and work of the army. They also show how the military authorities attempted to indoctrinate the soldier. How far that indoctrination was successful cannot readily be gauged. Study of battalion orders reveals, through records of punishments, that a not insignificant number of soldiers failed to live up to the army's ideals of conduct. However, it is equally clear that units functioned effectively and won the approval of inspecting generals; they could not have done so without a good proportion of well-motivated soldiers.<sup>47</sup>

The Finnish army had quickly developed into a national institution and become accepted in Finland as a means by which the country emphasised its separate status within the Russian Empire. But the army itself worked within a Russian framework. Although *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* was produced by Finns for Finns, it stressed the army's links with Russia and Russians. A notable proportion of its material attempted, in one way or another, to inculcate in the soldier devotion to the Emperor and country and to extol the virtues of discipline, courage and determination. Significantly, these sentiments echoed the ideas of General M. I. Dragomirov on the importance of indoctrination (*vospitanie*) in the training of the Russian soldier.<sup>48</sup> In this respect, as in so much else, the Finnish army of 1881–1901 faithfully followed Russian patterns.

<sup>46</sup> 'Lukijalle', LSS 6/1901, pp. 187–88.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Einar Palmunen, *Hämeen pataljoona, eli Suomen 7. Hämeenlinnan tarkk'ampujapataljoona. Muistojulkaisu* (Hämeenlinna, 1975), *passim*. This book is based on the orders of the battalion.

<sup>48</sup> On the influence of Dragomirov, see Bruce W. Menning, *Bayonets before Bullets: the Imperial Russian Army, 1861–1914* (Bloomington, 1992), pp. 38–39.

# Religious Trends and Books in Sixteenth-Century Belarus

Alexander Nadson

## I

Belarusians, in common with Russians and Ukrainians, look to the year 988 as the date which marked the official introduction of Christianity in their country and, by placing them within the sphere of Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition, played a decisive role in determining its future development. This does not mean that the historical paths of the three peoples were identical. As far as Belarus is concerned, from its earliest times it has been a meeting-point of Western and Eastern religious and cultural traditions. Thus the ancient city of Polatsk, situated on the river Dzvina, had close links with the Baltic coast, in particular with the Hanseatic city of Riga when it was founded in the early thirteenth century by German Teutonic (Livonian) knights. There was even an Orthodox church of St Nicholas in Riga for the use of citizens of Polatsk who visited or resided in that city; it was subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Polatsk who provided the priest.<sup>1</sup>

Very probably there was also a Catholic church in Polatsk at a relatively early date. In 1406 the Grand Duke Vitaut granted the German Teutonic knights of Riga a plot of land in Polatsk for the construction of a church.<sup>2</sup> By that date, however, Polatsk and practically all Belarusian lands formed part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This state from its very outset at the middle of the thirteenth century was multi-ethnic and multi-religious. The main ethnic groups were Lithuanians and Belarusians. The former were still pagans and had no written language of their own. Thus Belarusians by virtue of four centuries of Christian culture played an important role in the affairs of the state. By the middle of the fourteenth century their language became the official language of the Duchy, and many members of the Lithuanian nobility accepted the Belarusian language and culture as well as the Orthodox religion. The situation changed in 1387, with the Union of Kreva between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. By virtue of this Union all ethnic Lithuanians who were still pagans had to be baptised in the Catholic faith; the Grand Duke and all his family were also to become Catholics. It also opened the way for the spread of the Catholic faith in the ethnically Belarusian territories. Catholic churches began to spring up all over Belarus, often built by the Grand

<sup>1</sup> See, for example: Letter of the Bishop of Polatsk of about 1392–1415, appointing a new priest in Riga, in *Polotskie gramoty*, edited by A. L. Khoroshkevich, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1977), no. 14, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 36, p. 98.

Duke in his domains, or by noblemen converted to the Catholic faith. Catholic monastic orders also began to appear, Franciscans being the most prominent among them. By the first half of the fifteenth century they already had their own monasteries in Vilna, Lida, Ashmiany, Pinsk and Drahichyn. Around 1498 they established themselves in Polatsk. By that time there must have been a number of Roman Catholics in that city, because the charter of Grand Duke Alexander of 1498, granting Polatsk self-government under the so-called 'German' or 'Magdeburg' law, stipulated that half of the city's dignitaries should belong to the 'Roman rite' (*Zakonu Rymskoho*), and the other half to the 'Greek rite' (*Zakonu Hretskoho*).<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, the same rule applied to the capital city of the Grand Duchy, Vilna. There is no doubt, however, that the great majority of the Belarusian population remained Orthodox.

With the introduction of Christianity, all East Slavic lands were considered part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and organized into the one ecclesiastical Metropolitan Province of Kiev. As a result of the Tatar invasion in the thirteenth century and the fall of Kiev, the Metropolitan was forced to leave his see, and after a period of wandering chose for his new residence Moscow, which at that time was beginning to emerge as a new political power. This development was not regarded favourably by the grand dukes of Lithuania, who were reluctant to accept the jurisdiction over their Orthodox subjects of a metropolitan residing in a foreign, often hostile country. Thus began attempts, resisted by Moscow, to establish a separate 'Lithuanian' metropolitan province. The attempts were unexpectedly crowned with success. One of the signatories of the act of Union of Florence in 1439, which re-established communion between the Orthodox and Catholic churches, was the Metropolitan of Kiev Isidore (1436–58). The Union was rejected by Moscow, which expelled Isidore, but was accepted in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Isidore was received with all honours. The resulting split was made definite in 1458 when the Pope appointed Gregory II (1458–1472) as successor to Isidore at the Metropolitan See of Kiev. From that date on, the Orthodox Church in Russia became a separate Metropolitan Province of Moscow. The remaining part of the old Metropolitan Province of Kiev, which remained within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, retained its original name, although its Metropolitan fixed his residence in Navahrudak in Western Belarus. Officially it was in Union with Rome. It is in the light of this that one readily understands how the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Casimir could in 1467 commend to the Pope and all church and secular princes 'virum hunc nobilem ac strenuum, Alexandrum Soltan, ritum Graecorum sectantem, ex Nostro Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae', who intended to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and then visit 'certos Principes Catholicos

<sup>3</sup> *Akty, otnosiashchesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii*, t. I (Sankt-Peterburg, 1845), no. 159, p. 179.

eorumque dominia militiae cupiditati'. Soltan's journey took two years, during which he was received by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Sicily, the Duke of Burgundy, and finally by King Edward IV of England, who gave him a golden chain such as was worn by knights ('eundem Alexandrum aurea torque (qua divisa milites nostri utuntur) donavimus, utentique ea ubique locorum deditus facultatem').<sup>4</sup>

This Union with Rome was, however, of short duration, not because of any hostility but rather through neglect and lack of deeper interest and understanding on both sides. Towards the end of the fifteenth century friendly relations were re-established with the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was asked to approve the appointment of new candidates for the Metropolitan See. The only lasting effect was the permanent division of the ancient Metropolitan Province of Kiev into two entities.

At the same time friendly relations between the Orthodox and Catholics persisted, reflecting the spirit of religious tolerance prevalent in the country. Although the decree proclaiming the equality of all Christian faiths was issued only in 1563,<sup>5</sup> it merely legalized the situation which had existed practically from the beginning. Belarusian Orthodox noblemen occupied the highest political posts, including membership of the inner Grand-ducal Council. In the cities the Orthodox burghers' rights to equal treatment were enshrined in the 'Magdeburg law' charters. At the same time the Orthodox burghers had their own organizations, called *bratstva* (confraternities). In contrast to the confraternities, which appeared towards the end of the century and pursued strictly religious aims, their earlier namesakes were more like associations, whose members belonged to the same social or professional group and thus had certain interests in common. In Vilna, for example, there existed the *bratstvo panskoe* or *burmistrovskoe* for members of the Orthodox patrician families from which city dignitaries (mayors, aldermen etc.) were appointed. Another was a *kupetskoe bratstvo*, for rich merchants. The oldest of them was the *bratstvo kushnerskoe*, whose members were fur merchants—a very profitable trade at that time.<sup>6</sup> One of the more pleasant activities of these confraternities was brewing mead for drinking on certain solemn occasions, usually great feasts. At such drinking sessions not only members but also invited guests could be present, both laymen and priests, Orthodox and Catholic. Apart from drinking mead, the confraternities were engaged in charitable work, looking after the widows

<sup>4</sup> Documents relating to Soltan's travels were first published in *Przegląd Poznański*, 1 (1862), pp. 60–74.

<sup>5</sup> *Akty ... Zapadnoi Rossii* (note 3), t. III (Sankt-Peterburg, 1848), no. 32, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Akty ... Zapadnoi Rossii* (note 3), t. III, no. 131, p. 269; *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*, t. I (Sankt-Peterburg, 1863), no. 102, p. 103; *Sobranie drevnikh aktov gorodov Vil'ny, Kovny, Trok, pravoslavnnykh monastyrei, tserkvei i po raznym predmetam*, pt. 2 (Vilna, 1843), no. 1, p. 1.

of their members, and taking care of the church to which they were attached. In 1509 the *panskoe bratstvo* obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople an antimension, or portable altar, on which a priest could celebrate Mass when travelling in Poland or other West European countries where there were no Orthodox churches.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the decree of 1563 proclaiming the equality of all Christian religions was necessary not so much because of the Orthodox, but on account of the rapid spread of the Reformation in its Calvinist form among the nobility and city population in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The progress of Calvinism became particularly rapid after 1557 when it found a powerful protector in the person of Prince Nicholas Radzivill 'The Black', Governor of Vilna and Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its *de facto* ruler. Soon others followed suit, and at one time it looked as if Calvinism might become the national religion of Belarus. There were, however, those for whom the tenets of Calvinism were not radical enough, and they chose to follow the teaching of Servetus, spreading the Unitarian (known also as 'Antitrinitarian' or 'Arian') faith.

The position of the Catholic Church was shaken, but it was the Orthodox Church that suffered most. The famous Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga, writing in 1597, calculated that in the Navahrudak province alone, out of 600 Orthodox noble families only sixteen remained faithful to the old religion.<sup>8</sup> Yet strangely enough the relations between the members of different faiths remained friendly and there was hardly any controversy. Theodore Yewlashewski, a petty nobleman of the Lakhavichy district, born Orthodox, in his memoirs written at the beginning of the seventeenth century describes how in 1565 at the age of twenty he became a Calvinist, which fact did not prevent him from enjoying the friendship of 'a man worthy to be remembered, Father John Makowiecki, Archdeacon of Warsaw, Custodian and Canon of Vilna, Secretary in the Treasury of His Majesty, who made me more skilled in figures, and recommended me to several people',<sup>9</sup> and adds: 'For at that time difference of religion was no obstacle to friendship, for which reason that age seems to me golden in comparison with the present day, when even among people of the same faith hypocrisy reigns, but when it comes to different religions, then it is useless to look for love, sincerity and good manners, especially among lay people.'<sup>10</sup> Then he makes the following astonishing statement: 'May God grant even now

<sup>7</sup> *Akty... Zapadnoi Rossii* (note 3), t. II (Sankt-Peterburg, 1848), no. 55, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Petr Skarga, 'Beresteiskii sobor i oborona ego', *Russkaia istoricheskia biblioteka*, vol. 19 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1903), p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> 'Memoirs of Theodore Jeūlašeŭski, Assessor of Navahrudak (1546–1604)', translated and annotated by Alexander Nadson, *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 4 (London, 1968), p. 285.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

the return of gentler times, that all Christians who, even if they differ in some articles of faith, are Christians nevertheless, may show greater respect for the supreme and greatest Christian monarch the Pope; and may he, like a wise and kind father, love and suffer them all, in the likeness of the father of a family who knows and suffers all his sons, even if they differ from him and other brothers in their opinions.'<sup>11</sup>

Despite these good relations, the rapid spread of Protestantism must have worried the Church authorities. To combat it, the Catholic Bishop of Vilna, Valerian Protasevich, invited the Jesuits. They arrived in 1569 and established in Vilna a college, which ten years later was raised to the status of a university. Soon other foundations followed, among them the one in Polatsk founded when the city was liberated from the Russians in 1579. The excellence of teaching in Jesuit schools made many Orthodox and Protestant parents entrust the education of their sons to them. The Jesuits admitted all (in Polatsk they even had a Jewish boy),<sup>12</sup> and in most cases succeeded in turning their students into articulate young Catholic gentlemen. The Reformation movement began to lose its impetus by the end of the century and no longer presented a threat to the Catholic Church.

Although their chief concern was to combat the spread of Protestantism, the Jesuits soon directed their sights towards the Orthodox. It was Piotr Skarga (for some time Rector of the Vilna College) who in 1577 with his book *O jednoscji Kościoła Bożego* (On the Unity of the Church of God) fired the first shot in their direction. The thought of unity between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church also occupied the mind of another famous Jesuit, the Italian Antonio Possevino, who in 1581 explained his ideas of how to achieve it in a memorandum to the newly appointed Catholic Bishop of Vilna, George Radzivill (son of the former pillar of Calvinism, Nicholas Radzivill ‘The Black’). For him, however, unlike Skarga, the Orthodox in Belarus and Ukraine were only stepping-stones towards what he regarded as his main goal, namely the conversion of Russia. On the other hand, both agreed that an essential condition of success was the use of the native language in teaching, preaching and religious publications. It must be said also that their idea of union comprised not only unity of faith, but also of rite, i.e. the forms of worship. In their view the Orthodox, once united with Rome, should adopt the Roman rite, and the retention of the Byzantine rite could be tolerated only as a temporary measure. Fortunately Pope Clement VIII at the time of the Union of Brest in 1596 showed a better understanding of the Catholicity of the Church.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Materiały do dziejów Akademii Połockiej*, zebrał I.G. (Cracow, 1905), p. 13, footnote.

<sup>13</sup> For a more detailed description see K. Chodnicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska* (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 194–255; P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, t. 2 (Paris, 1897), pp. 66–67, 219–221.

Thus the Orthodox Church in Belarus in the second half of the sixteenth century found itself in a difficult position, seeing its ranks depleted and having no strength to resist. One of its chief weaknesses was the poor quality of the higher clergy, who were unable to provide inspired leadership. The presentation of higher ecclesiastical appointments traditionally rested with the grand dukes (from 1569 onwards also invariably kings of Poland), who were Catholics and did not always understand the needs of the Orthodox Church. The system was open to numerous abuses. Theodore Yewlashewski in his memoirs describes how he secured a bishopric for his father:

In the same year 1572, seeing my widowed father in great sorrow over the death of his wife and trying to console him, I understood from his conversation that he would like to finish his days in some bishopric. Having learnt that the See of Pinsk was vacant, I at once began to take the necessary steps, sparing no efforts, expense and all sorts of practices, knowing that I owed this to my dear father and benefactor. I felt desperate when funds fell short . . . It was Master Andrew Ždanovič Daroūski who saved me by lending the necessary sum, and thus I was able to obtain the See of Pinsk for my father.<sup>14</sup>

An embarrassing incident happened in 1585 when King Stephan Batory gave the monastery of the Ascension in Minsk to a Stefan Dostoevski who, as it turned out later, was not even Orthodox. Only three years later, after protests from the Orthodox, the monastery was taken from him and given to Michael Rahoza, the future metropolitan.<sup>15</sup>

Such a state of affairs must have been the cause of considerable concern for those Orthodox who remained faithful to their Church. By the middle of the 1580s a movement developed for the renewal of the Orthodox Church. It took the form of new organizations, also called *bratstva* (confraternities) but with a clearly designated religious character. Membership of these new confraternities was open to all Orthodox believers, irrespective of their social class, profession or even sex. Thus the list of members of the Vilna confraternities (founded in 1584) includes the names of Theodore Skumin-Tyshkevich, governor of Navahradak, and Prince Theodore Palubenski, alongside Ivan Ieramieevich, mayor (*burmistr*) of Vilna, Aleksei Lukashevich, fishmonger (*rybnik*), Ondrei Tsimofeevich, shoemaker (*shvets*), and Mistress Evhiniia, a priest's widow (*popadia byvshaia staraia*). What united them was concern for the well-being of the Orthodox Church. Their aim was the defence of the Orthodox faith and raising the consciousness of their identity by, among other things, spreading knowledge of the tenets of Orthodox religion through religious publications and maintaining schools for children. They also did much to improve the intellectual and moral standards of Orthodox clergy.

<sup>14</sup> 'Memoirs of Theodore Jeūlašeūski . . .' (note 9), p. 293.

<sup>15</sup> *Akty . . . Zapadnoi Rossii* (note 3), t. III, no. 89, p. 219; no. 110, p. 240.

While the confraternities tried to reform the Orthodox Church from within, others, including some more worthy members of the hierarchy, were drawing nearer to Rome, trying to conclude a Union with the Catholic Church by recognising the primacy of the Pope, but retaining their traditional forms of worship and ecclesiastical organization. Their efforts resulted in the Union of Brest in 1596 and the establishment of the Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite, popularly known as the Uniate Church.

The Union of Brest failed to bring peace to religious life in Belarus. Many Orthodox opposed it, among them the Ukrainian dioceses of L'viv and Pere-mysl', which did not join it until almost a century later. Thus for the first century of its existence the Uniate Church was concentrated mainly in Belarusian territory. Ironically, Belarus was the first country where the Uniate Church was suppressed by the Russians in the nineteenth century. But the greatest opponents of the Union were the confraternities, who at that time constituted within the Orthodox Church a power to be reckoned with. Thus instead of unity there followed another split, and instead of peace a troubled period of soured relations and bitter controversy. No wonder that Yewlashewski, keen observer as he was, spoke nostalgically of the 'golden times' of his youth.

## II

The lively intellectual and religious scene in sixteenth-century Europe was to a great extent possible thanks to the full use for the first time of printing, which must be ranked among the greatest inventions in the history of mankind. Its advent marked the beginning of the era of 'mass culture', because it made possible rapid dissemination of new ideas among a great number of people. At the same time the printed material is a reflection of the spiritual and intellectual life of the epoch in which it was produced.

Belarusians were the first among the East Slavs to have their own printing: it began on 6 August 1517 when there appeared in Prague a Book of Psalms (*Psaltyr*) 'by the order and efforts of the excellent man, doctor of medical sciences, Francis, son of Skaryna from Polatsk', as was stated in its postscript.

Much has been learnt in the last forty years about the life and personality of the first Belarusian printer Francis Skaryna, although certain vital details remain obscure.<sup>16</sup> There is no clear evidence of the exact dates of his birth and death, which are variously estimated as c. 1485–1540 and c. 1490–1551. What is known for certain, however, is that he was a native of Polatsk, as he never tired of pointing out himself, the son of a merchant named Luke. He

<sup>16</sup> One of the best modern works on the life of Skaryna is Symon Braha, 'Doktar Frantsishak Skaryna', in *Scoriniana*, Zapisy Belaruskaha Instytutu Navuki i Mastatstva, kn. 5 (München, 1970), pp. 11–33. See also Vitaut Tumash, 'Skaryna w Padui', *ibid.*, pp. 35–79; and his *Lakalizatsiya zhytsiapsisu Doktara Skaryny* (New York, München, Belaruskii Instytut Navuki i Mastatstva, 1965), 31 pp.

also had a brother Ivan who followed in his father's footsteps and later became the cause of some of Skaryna's misfortunes. Skaryna was very reticent about his religion, but there seems to be now a general consensus, based on external evidence, that he was a Catholic.<sup>17</sup>

Most probably Skaryna was initially educated by the Franciscans in Polatsk. In 1504–1506 he was a student at Cracow University, and in 1512 he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Padua. According to the examination documents, at that time he was already 'eximus artium Doctor' (Doctor of Liberal Arts) and secretary 'regis Datiae'. The last expression is generally understood to mean that Skaryna spent some time in the service of King Hans of Denmark, although no corresponding documents have been found to support this view. In 1517 Skaryna was already in Prague printing separate books of the Old Testament, beginning with the Psalter (Fig. 1). The choice of Prague was most probably dictated by the printing facilities existing there, but the initiative and support for the whole venture came from his native country, most probably from the merchants of Vilna, as can be inferred from the following handwritten endorsement on one of his books: 'This was achieved thanks to the support of Bohdan, Son of Onkov, councillor of the city of Vilna' (*A to se stalo nakladom Bohdana, Onkova syna, raicy mesta Vilenskoho*). In Prague, Skaryna published twenty-three books of the Old Testament, but in 1519 he left that city without completing the work.

Most probably, after leaving Prague he went straight back to his native country and settled in Vilna. There, in the house of Jakub Babich, mayor (*starshyi burmistr*) of Vilna, he set up a printing press. Between 1522 and 1525 he produced a prayer book for laymen, known as *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* (Little Travellers' Book) (Fig. 2), and an *Apostol* (book of Acts and Epistles of the Apostles). After that his printing activities came to an end, perhaps because of the lack of financial support from his patrons who, as merchants, had to consider the economic viability of the whole enterprise. After 1525 Skaryna's life seems to have been somewhat unsettled. For a short time he sought his fortune at the court of Duke Albrecht of Prussia in Königsberg, was employed as private secretary and physician to the Catholic Bishop of Vilna, engaged in lawsuits with the relatives of his wife Margaret over her inheritance, and was imprisoned for the debts of his dead brother Ivan. There are also indications that he might have visited Moscow trying unsuccessfully to find a market for his books.<sup>18</sup> Finally, towards 1535, he went back to Prague where he found employment as a gardener in the botanical garden in Hradčany Castle, newly founded by King Ferdinand I.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, *Frantsysk Skaryna: zbornik dokumentow i materyialow*, ed. V. Darashkievich (Minsk, 1988), p. 338, note 9.

<sup>18</sup> Symon Braha, *Doktar Skaryna w Maskve* (New York, München, Belaruski Instytut Navuki i Mastatstva, 1963), 22 pp.

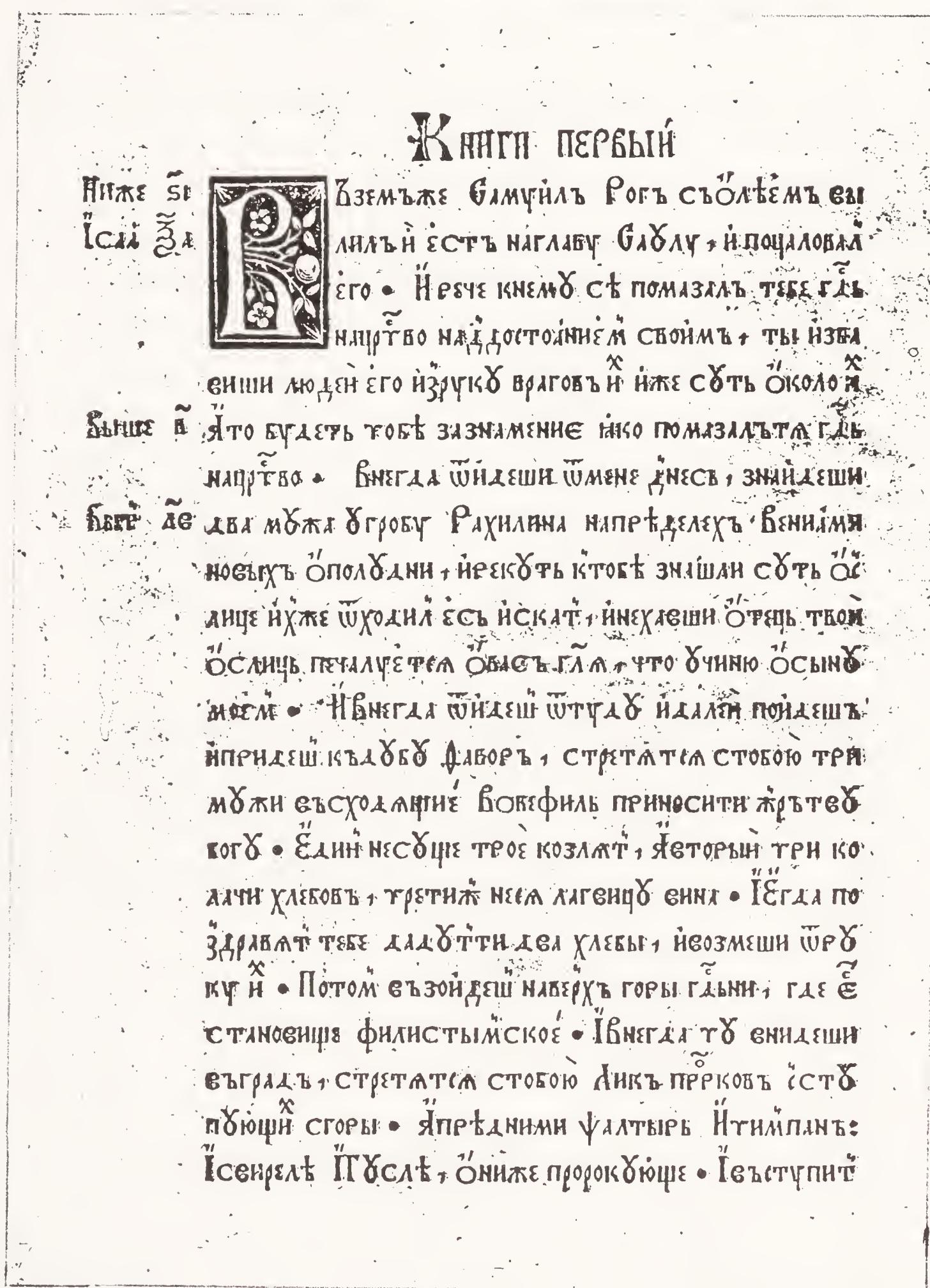


Fig. 1 Skaryna's Book of Kings, Prague, 1518 (original page size 220×160mm).  
New York Public Library copy.

The complex figure of Skaryna and his work has attracted the attention of many scholars for over a century. There is first of all the problem of the language of Skaryna's biblical translations. P. Vladimirov, author of a monumental work on Skaryna, considered his language to be Belarusian, with influences of Church Slavonic and Czech.<sup>19</sup> More recently the view has prevailed that Skaryna's language was basically Church Slavonic, saturated with Belarusian elements.<sup>20</sup> Be that as it may, there is no denying the importance of Skaryna's pioneering work in introducing vernacular elements into religious texts, thus making them more accessible to the ordinary reader. By doing this he also laid the foundations for the development of the Belarusian literary language.

The problem of the texts used by Skaryna in making his translations first attracted the attention of the early nineteenth-century Scottish biblical scholar and linguist E. Henderson. In his book, entitled *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia*, he made a linguistic analysis of selected passages from Skaryna's translation of the Book of Genesis, comparing them with corresponding passages in the Greek Septuagint, Latin Vulgate and Church Slavonic. His conclusions were that Skaryna made translations from the Vulgate, but had access also to texts in other languages.<sup>21</sup> Vladimirov was the first to show Skaryna's dependence on printed texts of the Czech Bible, especially the 1506 Venice edition.<sup>22</sup> Vladimirov's conclusions were later confirmed by Florovskii.<sup>23</sup>

All Skaryna's biblical editions contain prefaces and postscripts. The latter are short notes giving the place and date of publication as well as the name of the publisher, i.e. Skaryna himself. The prefaces, on the other hand, are original works and for this reason have a rightful place in Belarusian literature.<sup>24</sup> There remains the question of the sources used by Skaryna in his prefaces. Vladimirov has already noted that Skaryna must have used the works of St Jerome (whom he quotes by name) and of the fourteenth-century biblical commentator Nicholas de Lyra.<sup>25</sup> Skaryna also mentions the name of St Gregory the Great. Practically no work has been done on this question since then, although the necessity of such a study has recently been raised again.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> P. Vladimirov, *Doktor Frantsisk Skorina, ego perevody, pechatnye izdaniia i iazyk* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1888), pp. 247–317.

<sup>20</sup> Ja. Vowk-Levanovich, 'Mova vydanniaw Frantsishka Skaryny', *Chatryrokhsoletstse belaruskaha druku* (Mensk, 1926), pp. 262–83; A. Zhurawski, 'Mova drukavanych vydanniaw F. Skaryny', *450 hod belaruskaha knihadrukavannia* (Minsk, 1968), pp. 277–304.

<sup>21</sup> E. Henderson, *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia* (London, 1826), pp. 103–111.

<sup>22</sup> Vladimirov (note 19), pp. 128–172.

<sup>23</sup> A. Florovskii, 'Cheshskaia Biblia v istorii russkoi kul'tury i pis'mennosti', *Sbornik filologicky*, vol. XII (Prague, 1940–46), pp. 155–225.

<sup>24</sup> A. B. McMillin, *A History of Byelorussian Literature* (Giessen, 1977), pp. 40–47; and his 'Francis Skaryna's Biblical Prefaces and Their Place in Early Byelorussian Literature', *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. VI, no. 1 (London, 1988), pp. 3–11.

<sup>25</sup> Vladimirov (note 19), pp. 100 *et seq.*

<sup>26</sup> V. Dyshynevich, 'Ab krynnitsaznawchym analize spadchyny F. Skaryny', *Vestsi Akademii Navuk*

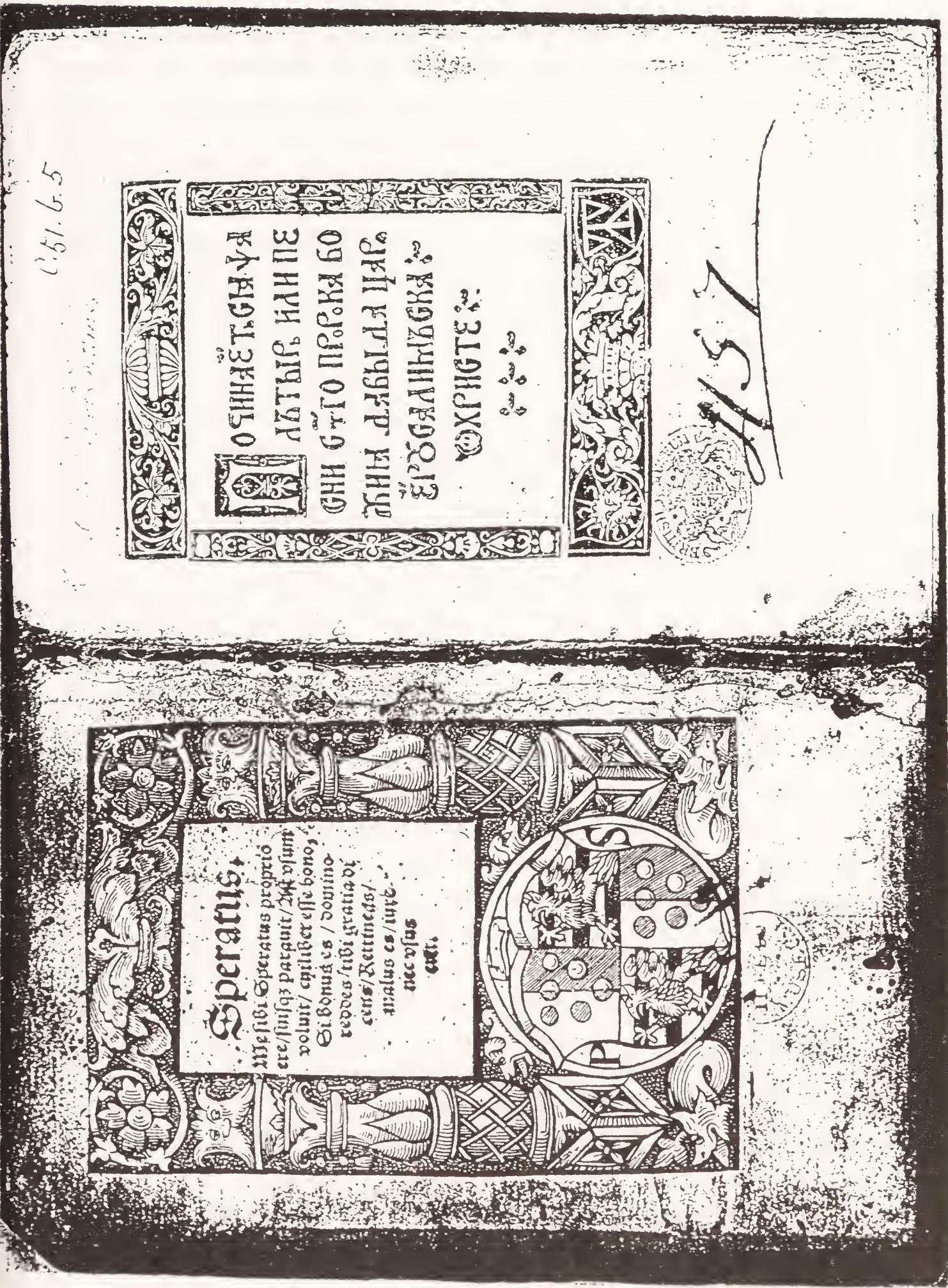


Fig. 2 Skaryna's *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka*, Vilna, 1522 (original size of opening 159×209mm). British Library copy.

It may be said with certainty now, however, that Skaryna's exegetical sources must mainly be sought in Western patristic and scholastic traditions.

Until a few years ago Skaryna's prayer book, the *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka*, published in Vilna in 1522, was the least studied of all his publications. Perhaps, since it consisted largely of traditional liturgical texts, it was not considered of sufficient interest. Recently some excitement was stirred up when the book's missing *Paskalia*, or calendar of movable feasts, was recovered.<sup>27</sup> In fact it is one of the most original of Skaryna's works. Printed in small, 'pocket' format, it was an ideal book for a pious Belarusian merchant to take with him on his travels in foreign countries. In form the book is what is known as *Psaltir s vossledovaniem*, i.e. a Book of Psalms, followed by texts of daily offices and prayers. It was a very popular manual of private devotions among Orthodox laymen. Previous to Skaryna's *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* printed editions of *Psaltir s vossledovaniem* appeared in 1495 in Cetinje, and in 1519–20 in Venice by Bozhidar Vukovich, who also in 1520 published a prayer book for laymen called *Molitvoslov* (without psalter). Because of their character all these publications, including Skaryna's, had much in common. However, a comparison of their contents shows that *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* is an independent work, containing much original material. It is divided into five main sections: *Psaltir* (Book of Psalms), *Chasoslov* (containing the texts of common or unchangeable parts of the daily offices), *Akafisty* (special religious hymns), *Shestodnevets* (selected proper, or changeable, parts of the daily offices), and *Posledovanie tserkovnoho sobraniia* (Church Calendar).

The part containing the *akafists* presents considerable interest. These hymns, written on the model of the famous Greek *Akathistos Hymnos* in honour of the Mother of God, became a very popular form of religious hymnography among the South and East Slavs. Skaryna was the first to publish a collection of them. In fact this was the only occasion on which some of these *akafists* were ever published. The collection contains a total of eight *akafists*, one for each day of the week and two for Thursday (Apostles and St Nicholas). Three *akafists* are of particular interest. They are those in honour of St John the Baptist, the apostles Peter and Paul, and the Name of Jesus. The *akafist* to the Apostles contains an acrostic in the letters of the Slavonic alphabet; the other two make up in acrostic the words DOKTOR SKORINICH FRANCISKUS. This raises the problem of the authorship of these hymns. It can be said with certainty that they were not translations from Greek. To what extent could Skaryna himself

BSSR, Seryia hramadskich navuk (Minsk), no. 3 (1985), pp. 89–97. Skaryna's prefaces and postscripts have been published in one book: F. Skaryna, *Pradmovy i pasliaslowi* (Minsk, 1969), 240 pp.

<sup>27</sup> A. Nadson, 'Kniha Skaryny w Kapenhahene', *Bozhym Shliakham*, no. 5 (London, 1972), pp. 9–11; and his 'Skaryna's Prayer Book', *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4 (London, 1972), pp. 339–58.

be their author?

The *akafist* in honour of the apostles contains the following praises of St Peter: ‘Hail, Vicar of God, for whose sake you loved spiritual things’ (*Raduisia, Bozhii namesniche, i toho dlia dukhovnyia vozliubivyi*), and ‘Hail, head of glorious Rome, who have left there after you the shepherd of the flock of Christ’ (*Raduisia, Rimu slavnoho hlavo, pastyria stada Khristova po sobe v nem ostavivyi*); whereas St Paul is addressed in the following words: ‘Hail, you who suffered martyrdom in glorious Rome together with the Vicar of Jesus’ (*Raduisia, ty vo prechval’nom Rime vkupe s namesnikom Isusovym muchenie prinial*). Significantly, in the second edition of this *akafist* in 1628 by the Vilna Orthodox confraternity, the above passages were either omitted or changed out of all recognition, its authorship being attributed to the fourteenth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore Bukhiras.

The *akafist* to the Name of Jesus, which has never since been reprinted, resembles in many ways the *akafist*, ever popular among the East Slavs, to the Sweet Jesus, but certainly anteceding it in date. Devotion to the name of Jesus was popular in the Christian East and West alike. In the West it was propagated by the Franciscans, in particular by St Bernardino di Siena and San Giovanni di Capistrano. Thus it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Skaryna, if indeed he is the author of the *akafist*, may have learnt this devotion from his Franciscan teachers in Polatsk.

The inclusion of two prayers of St Cyril of Turaw gives ‘local’ colour to the *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* and indicates the popularity of this twelfth-century ecclesiastical writer, known also as the Chrysostom of the East Slavs, in his native country. They are the prayers to the angels and the apostles, to be recited after the respective *akafists*. Skaryna shortened them somewhat and added a few things which the saintly Bishop of Turaw could hardly have known. Thus in the prayer to the apostles he refers to St Mark as ‘Glory of Venice’ (*Venetiiskaia pokhvala*) and praises St James as the one ‘who with your relics enlightens Spain and all countries of the West’ (*izhe Ispaniu i vsia strany zapadnyi svoim telesem slavne prosveshchaeshi*).

The Skaryna editions are remarkable for their elegance of form, and may be considered as masterpieces of early printing art. The nineteenth-century art historian V. Stasov did not hesitate to call *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* a ‘Slav Elzevier’.<sup>28</sup> The books are full of ornamental initial letters and richly illustrated with wood engravings. Much has been written about them, but the name of the artist remains a mystery to this day. They are all certainly in the style of South German graphic art. Some of the engravings and initial letters in *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka* are ‘borrowings’ from contemporary Western publica-

<sup>28</sup> V. Stasov, ‘Razbor rukopisnogo sochineniya G. Rovinskogo’, *Otchet o sed’mom prisuzhdenii nagrad grafa Uvarova* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1864), p. 32.

tions, in particular from *Liber Chronicarum* of Hartman Schedel (Nuremberg, 1493) and Israel Mekenem.<sup>29</sup>

In an age abounding in remarkable men, Skaryna was one of the most remarkable. At home in the West, in his native country he was perhaps ahead of his time, and that may be the reason why he did not receive the support he expected. Yet despite these difficulties he succeeded in achieving much. He was the first, not only in Belarus but in Eastern Europe, to use the new invention of printing to bring the light of knowledge to his people. Of course, for him knowledge was first of all the knowledge of the Word of God, and by introducing vernacular elements in his biblical editions he made accessible to many what had previously been a prerogative of the privileged few. That the decision to use vernacular was made deliberately can be seen from the following passage from Skaryna's preface to the Acts of the Apostles, printed in Vilna in 1525:

The prophets were given the spirit to speak only in Hebrew or Chaldaic. To the Apostles on the other hand, and to all those who believe in Christ, the Holy Spirit was given, so that they could proclaim the Divine truth, the word of salvation and kingdom of God in all languages under the sun.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, in his prefaces he popularized ideas of Western scholarship such as the notion of 'liberal arts', the origin and nature of law, etc. Skaryna was also ahead of his times in his 'ecumenical' approach—his wish to serve all people without any distinction of religion. No wonder that later in the times of religious quarrels he was regarded with suspicion by Orthodox and Catholics alike.

Skaryna made clear the sentiments which inspired him in undertaking his work in the preface to the Book of Psalms:

Seeing the great usefulness of such a small book, I, Francis, son of Skaryna from Polatsk, decided to print the Psalter . . . first of all for the glory and praise of God one in Trinity, and His Immaculate Mother Mary, as well as all the angels and saints of God, and then for the common good, especially because merciful God caused me to be born in this world from among these people.<sup>31</sup>

For, as he declares in the preface to the Book of Judith:

The beasts of the desert know from birth their lairs; birds that fly in the air know their nests; fish swimming in the sea and in the rivers sense their whirlpools; bees and their like defend their hives. In the same manner people have great love for the place where they were born and brought up

<sup>29</sup> V. Tumash, 'Drevaryty nastawnika Durera w Padarozhnaj knizhtsy Frantsishka Skaryny', *Zapisy*, Belaruski Instytut Navuki i Mastatstva, no. 16 (New York, 1978), pp. 3–43.

<sup>30</sup> F. Skaryna, *Pradmovy i pasliaslowi* (note 26), p. 120.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

according to God's will.<sup>32</sup>

Skaryna had no successors in his work, and it took nearly forty years for Belarusian printing to resume again. In 1562 in Niasvizh in Western Belarus there appeared a Calvinist catechism (*Katikhizis*). It was printed at the press founded by the Calvinist preacher of Niasvizh, Lawrence Kryshkowski, and bailiff Matthew Kaviachynski; its author was Symon Budny, a Calvinist preacher from Kletsk. At that time Niasvizh belonged to Prince Nicholas Radzivill 'The Black', a powerful protector of Calvinism. A Pole by birth, Budny was a highly intelligent and restless character. Like Skaryna, he was educated at Cracow University, but then abandoned the Catholic faith for the new teaching emanating from Geneva, and finally became Unitarian. His prodigious literary output is characterized by its partisan spirit. Although he wrote mainly in Polish and Latin, he was not opposed to using any other language in order to gain new adherents to his ideas. In the dedicatory preface to the princes Nicholas Radzivill 'The Black' and his cousin Nicholas Radzivill 'The Red', he even writes: 'It is a just thing that Your Princely Graces should love the language of the people, among whom the ancestors and fathers of Your Princely Graces have held the highest offices'.<sup>33</sup> Thus, even if Budny's Catechism was written in Belarusian and printed with type modelled on that of Skaryna's editions, the character and spirit of their respective works could not have been further apart.

Of somewhat different character was the Unitarian Belarusian nobleman Vasil Tsiapinski. About 1570 he undertook the publication of Church Slavonic and Belarusian New Testament texts in parallel columns. It is unfortunate that he was not able to finish this most interesting undertaking, and succeeded in publishing only the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark. Perhaps, not having a rich patron to finance his work, he ran short of funds, for as he himself declared in the manuscript preface to his book, 'from my poor estate I serve my people' (*z ubohoi maentnosti moei narodu moemu usluhuiu*).<sup>34</sup> He deplored the decline of the Belarusian language and culture, and was particularly bitter about the ignorance of the Orthodox clergy:

What can be more pitiful, what more repellent, than the fact that those among them who call themselves their spiritual leaders and teachers ... are the most ignorant and the least understanding; they do not try to improve and have no schools which could provide instruction, and being thus reduced to such a desperate state, they and their children have to avail themselves of Polish and other learning, not without great shame to themselves ...<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>33</sup> A. Korshunaw, *Khrestamatyia pa starazhytnai belaruskai litaratury* (Minsk, 1959), p. 191.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199. For a more detailed study of the life and work of Tsiapinski, see M. Dovnar-

Tsiapinski hoped that his publication would be useful also to his Orthodox countrymen.

Although the Jesuits, as has been said above, were aware of the need to conduct their pastoral work in the language of the people, they made only half-hearted attempts to put it into practice. The reason for this might have been that, since they concentrated their efforts mostly on the upper classes who were at that time in an advanced state of cultural polonization, they felt no need to use Belarusian. The only Belarusian publication produced by them was the Catechism of Peter Canisius. It was printed in 1585 in Vilna. Although the name of the printer is not indicated, the type is that of the newly established commercial printing press of the Mamonich brothers.

The first attempts of the Orthodox to print books for their needs are linked with the name of the first Russian printer, Ivan Fiodorov (Fedorov) and his Belarusian associate Piotr Mstislavets. After their hasty departure from Moscow they fled to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where they found a protector in the person of the Belarusian Orthodox magnate, Gregory Khadkevich, commander-in-chief (*hetman*) of the armies of the Grand Duchy. He established for them a printing press on his estate in Zabludaw. It was there that in 1569 the *Evanhelie uchitel'noe*, or Gospel readings for Sundays and great feasts with commentaries from the works of the Church fathers and ecclesiastical writers, appeared. The language of the publication was Church Slavonic. The preface to the book was written by Gregory Khadkevich himself, who admitted that it was his dearest wish (*popechenie velikoe*) to have this book translated into the language of the common people (*na prostuiu molvu*) so that simple folk might understand it (*dlia vyrozumeniia radi prostykh liudei*), but some 'wise men' (*liudi mudrye*) advised him not to do this.<sup>36</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that one of those 'wise men' was Ivan Fiodorov himself, who was well known for his conservative views in ecclesiastical matters.

After the publication of *Evanhelie uchitel'noe* Ivan Fiodorov and Piotr Mstislavets went their separate ways. Fiodorov remained for some time in Zabludaw, where in 1570 he printed a Book of Psalms (*Psaltir*) before moving to L'viv and finally to Ostrog. Mstislavets, on the other hand, went to Vilna, where in 1575 he published an Altar Gospel (*Naprestol'noe Evanhelie*) (Fig. 3) remarkable for its fine ornaments and wood engravings of the four evangelists, which were frequently reproduced and imitated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The publication was financed by Belarusian noblemen Ivan and Zenobius Zaretski, but the printing press was situated in the house of the Mamonich brothers. It was there that Mstislavets produced two other

Zapol'ski, 'V. N. Tsiapinski, perevodchik evangeliia na belorusskoe narechie', *Issledovaniia i materialy* (Kiev, 1909), pp. 232–256.

<sup>36</sup> Facsimile reproduction and Russian translation of Khadkevich's preface in *U istokov russkogo knigopechataniia* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 221–34.

books: *Psaltir* and *Chasoslovets*.<sup>37</sup>

Some authors consider the publication of Mstislavets's Altar Gospel in 1575 as the beginning of the Mamonich brothers' printing activity, although it did not begin to function properly until after 1580.<sup>38</sup> The brothers, Luke and Kuzma, were rich Belarusian merchants, originally from Mahilow but settled in Vilna. Their printing press was a private commercial venture, the first of its kind in Belarus, and one of many commercial enterprises in which the brothers were involved. In 1586 they received a 'royal privilege'—which remained largely ineffective—granting them the sole right to print and sell books in the Cyrillic alphabet. During the fifty years and more of its existence (in the seventeenth century the ownership of the press passed to Kuzma's son, Leo), the Mamonich press produced nearly one hundred titles in Belarusian and Church Slavonic, forty of them before 1601. Although most of the publications were books of a religious, mainly liturgical, character, the pride of place belongs to the three editions between 1588 and 1595 of the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Statut Velikoho Kniazstva Litovskoho*), the code of civil and criminal law of the country and a major non-religious early publication in the Belarusian language. To publish it, the Mamonich brothers produced a special typeface based on the cursive script (*skoropis*) of the chancery of the Grand Duchy, so that the book gives the impression of being handwritten.

The Mamonich brothers favoured a rapprochement of the Orthodox with the Catholic Church and were among the first supporters of the Union of Brest. They published polemical works in Belarusian by Catholic authors, namely: *Unia grekov s Kostelom Rimskim* (1595), *Spravedlivoe opisanie postupku ... na synode Beresteiskom* (1597) and *Antirrhisis* (c. 1599) by Hypatius Potei; and *Opisanie i oborona soboru ruskoho Beresteiskoho* (1597) by Piotr Skarga. Presumably in order not to lose their market among the Orthodox, the Mamonich brothers omitted to mention the publishers' name on some of their editions.

Religious controversy, practically absent at an earlier date, begins to figure prominently in the last decade of the sixteenth century. The chief polemical writer of the Vilna Orthodox Confraternity, which established its own printing press about 1590, was Stefan Zizani, author of *Kazan'e Kirila patriarkhi Jerusalimskoho o antikhriste* (Sermon of Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem, about Antichrist), published in 1596. He also wrote a catechism with the following lengthy title: *Izlozhenie o pravoslavnoi vere. Korotkim pytan'em i otpovedan'em dlja latveiskoho vyrozumenia khristianskim detem. Strannyi pytaet zlovernyi, a pravoslavnyi blahovernyi otpovedaet*. It was also published in 1596 as an appen-

<sup>37</sup> For more about Mstislavets, see A. Zernova, 'Pervopeciatnik Petr Timofeevich Mstislavets', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, vol. IX (Moscow, 1964), pp. 112–124.

<sup>38</sup> T. Iljaszewicz, *Drukarnia domu Mamoniczów w Wilnie* (Vilna, 1938), p. 155; A. Zernova, 'Tipografia Mamonichei v Vil'ne', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, vol. I (Moscow, 1959), pp. 167–221.



Fig. 3 Piotr Mstislavets' Altar Gospels, Vilna, 1575 (original page size 320×215mm). New York Public Library copy.

dix to his brother Lawrence's *Nauka ku chitaniu i rozumeniu pisma slovenskoho*. The book is well known mainly because of its *Leksis*, or the first Church Slavonic–Belarusian dictionary. Lawrence Zizani was at that time a teacher at the Vilna confraternity school, and the book was primarily intended for the use of his students, as was also his other well known work, published in the same year, *Hrammatika slovenska*, the first grammar of Church Slavonic. Both *Leksis* and *Hrammatika* were serious works of scholarship in the field of Slavonic philology.

The so-called *Kniha o vere* (Book about the Faith), published by the Vilna confraternity c. 1596, is the only known Orthodox polemical work against the Protestants. It contains chapters such as 'On the veneration of icons', 'Concerning the sign of the cross', 'On the veneration of the saints', 'On fasting', etc.

Perhaps the most interesting publication of the Vilna Orthodox Confraternity was a prayer book for laymen entitled *Molitvy povsednevnye* (Daily Prayers). There were two editions of the book in the sixteenth century: in 1595 and 1596. In a sense it returns to the tradition of Skaryna and his *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka*. The impression of similarity is enhanced by the small format and the use of Skaryna's ornaments which had somehow passed into the possession of the Confraternity. Unlike the *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhka*, *Molitvy povsednevnye* did not contain Psalter or texts of church services, but only private devotions such as morning and evening prayers, prayers before and after meals, preparation for holy communion, etc. An original feature of the book is the chapter entitled *Molitvy pri sviatoi Liturhii* (Prayers during the Holy Liturgy). The prayers were intended to be recited by a layman when he attended the liturgy on Sundays or great feasts, and thus, rather than standing passively, to become actively involved in sacred actions. The whole practice is strongly reminiscent of the 'Meditations during the Holy Mass' among the Roman Catholics, by which it was probably inspired. Another distinctive feature of *Molitvy povsednevnye* was the chapter entitled *Molitvy na vsiu sedmitsu*. *Tvorenie Kirilla Inoka*, containing thirty prayers of St Cyril of Turaw. It thus bore witness to the continuous popularity of this saint in his native country. Finally, as a sign of living in a religiously mixed society, in the *Paskhalia*, or calendar of movable feasts, along with the dates of *Paskha zhidovskaia* (Jewish Passover) and *Paskha khristian* (Christian, i.e. Orthodox Easter), the publishers also included *Paskha novoho kalendarja* (New Calendar Easter). *Molitvy povsednevnye* proved to be a very popular book, and appeared in several editions by various printing presses in the seventeenth century.



The most recent bibliography of Belarusian printed books<sup>39</sup> lists sixty-three Cyrillic titles published in the sixteenth century. Among them there are three official publications and five educational ones, and the remaining books are religious. The characteristic feature of Belarusian printed books of that period is the extensive use of the vernacular. Many books are written in Belarusian, others contain Belarusian texts such as prefaces or dedications. The variety of views represented by all these publications confirms the fact that Belarus in the sixteenth century lay at the watershed of the Western and Eastern cultural and religious traditions.

If one wished to express the message of Christianity in one sentence, it would surely be that the Son of God by becoming the Son of Man proclaimed the quintessential dignity of the human being who therefore demands love and respect. And not an abstract human being, but every single person with his or her individual and social characteristics, including language, culture, traditions, etc. Looking at sixteenth-century Belarus, it seems that this was well understood by Skaryna, and that is why his efforts to make the Christian message more accessible to his countrymen led also to the enrichment of Belarusian culture. On the other hand the Jesuits were not interested in Belarusians as such, and at best treated the Belarusian language and culture as a means to achieve their ends. And since they had other means to achieve those ends, they appeared to do practically nothing for the vast majority of the people. Perhaps they did not realize it, but it was this attitude that later brought about the estrangement between Belarusians and the Roman Catholic Church which came to be regarded as the church of the polonized upper classes. Between these two extremes there were others who, being also inspired by their Christian faith, made a considerable contribution to the liveliness and variety of the Belarusian religious scene and the advancement of Belarusian culture. It is considerations of this kind that make the study of sixteenth-century Belarus such a rewarding task.

<sup>39</sup> *Kniha Belarusi: zvodny kataloh* (Minsk, 1986), pp. 37–82.

# Путник Запоздалый

## П. А. Флоренский и московское религиозно-философское издательство ‘Путь’

### Е. А. Голлербах

Одним из наиболее заметных и значительных явлений в духовной, интеллектуальной, политической жизни предреволюционной России было московское религиозно-философское издательство ‘Путь’, организованное в 1910 г. на средства известной меценатки М. К. Морозовой и просуществовавшее до 1919 г. Это книгоиздательское предприятие объединило ведущих мыслителей России: учредителями и членами редакционного комитета ‘Пути’ были Е. Н. Трубецкой, С. Н. Булгаков, Н. А. Бердяев, В. Ф. Эрн, Г. А. Рачинский, в работе издательства участвовали в той или иной форме С. А. Алексеев (Аскольдов), А. Белый, А. А. Блок, Б. П. Вышеславцев, М. О. Гершензон, А. С. Глинка (Волжский), С. Н. Дурылин, А. В. Ельчанинов, В. В. Зеньковский, В. И. Иванов, Л. М. Лопатин, Н. О. Лосский, Н. В. Устрялов и многие другие.

Уже на первых порах существования ‘Пути’ его идеологические позиции были определены в печати как ‘неославянофильские’,<sup>1</sup> и это в большой степени соответствовало действительности. Формулируя причины создания издательства, его участники писали в первой декларации ‘Пути’: ‘Русское самосознание находится в периоде затяжного кризиса [...]. Старые устои жизни и традиционные формы самосознания разбиты или же разбиваются на наших глазах историей, а новое только зарождается в мучительной борьбе и проходит через начальную стадию своего развития.’<sup>2</sup> Участие в определении новых духовных основ русской общественной и государственной жизни, формировании новой национальной идеологии, основанной на началах христианской религиозности, патриотизма и демократии, представлялось учредителям ‘Пути’ их важной задачей. Они стремились возродить православие в качестве активной социальной и культурной силы, чтобы с его помощью решить насущные проблемы России. Считая православие важнейшим и несомненным национальным достоянием, идеологи ‘Пути’ полагали в то же время необходимым модернизировать его и привести к формам, которые наи-

<sup>1</sup> См., например: Франк С. Возрождение славянофильства. — Русская мысль, 1911, [октябрь], кн. X, [отд. 3], с. 27—30; Белый А. Неославянофильство и западничество в современной русской философской мысли. — Утро России, 1910, 15 октября, № 274, с. 2; и др.

<sup>2</sup> От издательства ‘Путь’. — Сборник первый: О Владимире Соловьеве. Москва: Путь, 1911, с. I.

более соответствовали бы современным требованиям.

В поисках новых ценностей мыслители, объединившиеся в ‘Пути’, в значительной степени отправлялись от философского наследия русских славянофилов, утверждавших идею особого религиозного предназначения России. Во многих деталях отличаясь от старых славянофилов, а порой и противореча им, ‘путейцы’, тем не менее, совпадали с ними в главном: в понимании русских духовных традиций как самостоятельного и благотворного элемента общемирового развития.

Принципиально воздерживаясь при этом от какой бы то ни было политической деятельности, издательство ‘Путь’ фактически являлось центром русского христианско-либерального национализма и активно формировало идеологию этого общественного направления, имевшего явное политическое значение и пребывавшего в середине политического спектра. Поэтому ‘Путь’ должен быть определен и как центристское политическое объединение, ‘самое правое крыло к.-[а]д.[етизма]’.<sup>3</sup>

Объективно являясь издательством для наиболее образованной части русского общества, ‘Путь’, тем не менее, ставил перед собой задачу прокламировать свою идеологию во всех социальных слоях России. Это проявилось как в стремлении авторов ‘Пути’ даже о сложных философских вопросах писать просто, порой пренебрегая частностями ради доступности основного, так и в репертуаре литературы, выпущенной или намечавшейся к изданию в ‘Пути’.

Основным направлением деятельности был выпуск ‘оригинальных произведений’ — фундаментальных монографий и монографических сборников работ ведущих авторов издательства по разным философским проблемам (‘Два града’ С. Н. Булгакова, ‘Борьба за Логос’ В. Ф. Эрна, ‘Мироизвержение Вл. С. Соловьева’ Е. Н. Трубецкого и др.). Второе направление состояло в выпуске ‘философского наследия’ — книг авторов, идеологически близких неославянофилам (‘Полное собрание сочинений’ И. В. Киреевского, ‘Русские ночи’ В. Ф. Одоевского, ‘Сочинения и письма’ П. Я. Чаадаева и др.). Третьим важным, но не вполне удавшимся направлением был выпуск сборников ‘Пути’ на разные темы (вышло только два — ‘О Владимире Соловьеве’ и ‘О религии Льва Толстого’), — предполагалось, что в этих книгах будет выражаться ‘боевая линия’ издательства и что авторы, живо обсуждая ту или иную актуальную тему, будут наглядно демонстрировать читающей публике свое единство в главном). Четвертое магистральное направление деятельности ‘Пути’ заключалось в выпуске переводных сочинений (вышли три книги В. С. Соловьева, переведенные с французского, ‘Хозяйственно-этические взгляды отцов Цер-

<sup>3</sup> Государственный архив Российской Федерации (Москва) (далее ГАРФ), ф. 102, оп. 12, 1911 г., ед. хр. 27, ч. 46б, л. 11 об.

кви' И. Зейпеля, 'Догмат и критика' Э. Леруа и др.). Непосредственно к этому примыкало следующее направление работы — серия 'Философские классики', в которой вышли 'Избранные сочинения' И. Г. Фихте и предполагался выпуск работ многих других авторов, — книги этого ряда должны были знакомить широкую русскую публику с достижениями зарубежной философии настоящего и прошлого. Шестая линия деятельности 'Пути' — выпуск серии монографий 'Русские мыслители', где излагались биографические сведения о философах России, давался анализ их взглядов, а также библиографические сведения (из обширного списка проектов осуществились лишь три исследования: 'Алексей Александрович Козлов' С. А. Алексеева (Аскольдова), 'Алексей Степанович Хомяков' Н. А. Бердяева и 'Григорий Саввич Сковорода: жизнь и учение' В. Ф. Эрна). И, наконец, специальным направлением работы, которому придавалось особое значение, должен был стать выпуск популярных книг по религиозной философии — 'книг для народа' (как, например, книги С. Н. Дурылина и С. Н. Шукина).

Таким образом, можно заключить, что издательство действительно предполагало охватить самую широкую читательскую аудиторию. И, вероятно, этот план мог осуществиться: до начала первой мировой войны 'Путь' стабильно увеличивал выпуск книжной продукции и по количеству наименований и по тиражам (пиковым для издательства был 1913 г. — вышло 12 книг суммарным тиражом 24,5 тысячи экземпляров; начало 1914 г. обещало, что эти показатели будут перекрыты). Как показывает анализ разнообразных свидетельств современников (отзывы печати, служебная документация Особого отдела Департамента полиции, переписка, дневники, мемуары и прочее), литература, выпускавшаяся 'Путем', привлекала заинтересованное внимание публики, имела достаточно широкий успех, и этот успех постоянно увеличивался. Есть все основания считать, что к началу войны с Германией московское религиозно-философское издательство 'Путь' было одним из наиболее известных, респектабельных и многообещающих издательств России.<sup>4</sup>

Его уникальная роль в жизни страны в значительной степени была обусловлена составом его участников. Каждый из сотрудников внес свою лепту в общее дело. И одним из существенных элементов деятельности издательства являлось участие П. А. Флоренского, оригинального религиозного мыслителя, историка философии, математика, инженера, искусствоведа.

Павел Александрович Флоренский родился в 1882 г. в селении Евлах (ныне эта территория относится к Азербайджану), детство провел в Ти-

<sup>4</sup> Подробнее об истории и идеологии издательства см.: Голлербах Е. Религиозно-философское издательство 'Путь': (1910—1919 гг.). — Вопросы философии, 1994, № 2, с. 123—165; № 4.

флисе и Батуме (Грузия). Еще будучи гимназистом, он заинтересовался вопросами религии и философии, а также познакомился с будущими сподвижниками В. Ф. Эрном и А. В. Ельчаниновым. В 1900 г. Флоренский поступил на физико-математический факультет Московского университета и в дальнейшем учебу там совмещал со слушанием лекций на историко-филологическом факультете, занятиями в философских семинарах С. Н. Трубецкого и Л. М. Лопатина, литературной работой (первые публикации Флоренского появились в журналах ‘Новый путь’ и ‘Весы’). В год окончания университета (1904) будущий философ вместе с А. Белым просил у своего духовника епископа Антония (Флоренсова) благословения на монашество, но получил отказ и в том же году поступил в Московскую Духовную академию, где учился до 1908 г. — занимался историей религиозно-философских воззрений, символической логикой, теорией познания, еврейским языком, археологией. В это время Флоренский проявил интерес к религиозно-политическим проблемам, участвовал в радикальном ‘Христианском братстве борьбы’, утверждавшем экстремистские формы вмешательства церкви в общественные и государственные дела. С 1908 по 1919 гг. преподавал в Московской Духовной академии историю античной философии, философию культа и др. В 1911 г. Флоренский стал священником, с 1912 по 1917 гг. возглавлял ‘Богословский вестник’, издававшийся при академии. Магистерскую диссертацию ‘О духовной Истине’ он защитил в 1914 г. С 1918 по 1920 гг. Флоренский работал в Комиссии по охране памятников искусства и старины в Троице-Сергиевой лавре (Сергиев Посад под Москвой), участвовал в приемке и описании предметов церковного искусства, их реставрации. Хотя до 1926 г. Флоренский продолжал читать лекции и рецензировать студенческие работы в Духовной академии, а затем на пастырско-богословских курсах, служить в церквях, — уже с 1920 г. он перешел к инженерной и исследовательской деятельности — сначала работал на московском заводе ‘Карболит’ (производство по выработке пластмасс), впоследствии — в системе ВСНХ РСФСР (руководил испытанием технических материалов в Государственном экспериментальном электротехническом институте). При этом, с 1921 по 1924 гг. он также являлся профессором художественно-технического института Вхутемас и занимался теоретическими проблемами искусствоведения. С середины 1920-х гг. Флоренский почти полностью сосредоточился на исследовательских работах в области электротехники, с 1927 г. редактировал ‘Техническую энциклопедию’. В 1933 г. он был арестован и осужден на десять лет заключения. В 1933—1934 гг. в одной из лагерных лабораторий на Дальнем Востоке Флоренский изучал вечную мерзлоту, а впоследствии, в 1935—1937 гг., на Соловках (архипелаг в Северном море) занимался вопросами добычи иода и агар-агара из морских водорослей. В 1937 г. Флоренский по приговору

особой тройки УНКВД Ленинградской области был расстрелян.

Таким образом, участие в издательстве ‘Путь’ было лишь одним из многих эпизодов биографии философа и ученого. Тем не менее, этот эпизод заслуживает специального рассмотрения.

П. А. Флоренский формально не состоял сотрудником издательства. Это было обусловлено, как можно полагать, в первую очередь, резко негативным отношением православной церкви к нетрадиционным формам религиозного творчества. Характерно, между прочим, что именно после одной из публикаций ‘Пути’ (сборника ‘О религии Льва Толстого’) Святейший Синод запретил профессорам Духовных академий принимать участие в Религиозно-философских обществах.<sup>5</sup> Кроме того, к моменту возникновения издательства Флоренский еще не являлся достаточно крупной и признанной фигурой в московской философской среде. Е. Н. Трубецкой, например, впервые отметил его как ‘новый крупный талант’ лишь в конце 1913 г., в связи с выпуском ‘Путем’ книги философа ‘Столп и утверждение Истины’.<sup>6</sup> При этом, возможно, сыграли роль и враждебные отношения Флоренского с Бердяевым, в участии которого организаторы ‘Пути’ были заинтересованы,<sup>7</sup> а также известное тяготение молодого ученого к более церковному, чем ‘Путь’, московскому кружку М. А. Новоселова.<sup>8</sup> Имело значение и то, что Флоренский жил в Сергиевом Посаде, — это также ограничивало его возможности непосредственно влиять на текущие издательские дела ‘Пути’. Тем не менее, участие Флоренского в этом предприятии было постоянным, важным, а во многом и определяющим фактором существования издательства. Современники отметили близость философа к кругу ‘Пути’ и ставили его имя в один ряд с именами ведущих сотрудников издательства. ‘Последние месяцы я увлекался трудами новейших рус[с]ких философов Соловьевской школы, — отмечал, например, в письме к Н. Н. Глубоковскому (30 марта 1911 г.) будущий историк церкви и философии, а в то время одесский гимназист Г. В. Флоровский, — Булгакова, Бердяева, кн. Е. Трубецкого, зат.[ем] доц.[ента] Моск.[овской Духовной] акад.[емии] П. Флоренского [...].’<sup>9</sup> И действительно, для такого обобщения имелись

<sup>5</sup> См.: Зеньковский Василий. Из моей жизни. — Вестник Русского студенческого христианского движения, № 72—73, 1964, вып. I—II, с. 86. Общую мотивацию подобного отношения православной церкви к религиозно-философскимисканиям интеллигенции см., например: Чуева И. П. Антикоммунизм и русская религиозная философия. Ленинград, 1969, с. 19—20.

<sup>6</sup> Российская государственная библиотека, Рукописный отдел (далее РГБ РО), ф. 171, карт. 8, ед. хр. 16, л. 48 об.

<sup>7</sup> См.: Бердяев Н. А. Самопознание: (опыт философской автобиографии). Москва: Книга, 1991, с. 184; и др.

<sup>8</sup> См.: Полищук Е. М. А. Новоселов и его ‘Письма к друзьям’. — Журнал Московской Патриархии, 1991, № 11, с. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Сектор ‘Дом Плеханова’ Рукописного отдела Российской национальной библиотеки (далее РНБ РО СДП), ф. 194, оп. 1, ед. хр. 893, л. 8.

веские основания.

Флоренский являлся одним из влиятельных членов московского Религиозно-философского общества памяти В. С. Соловьева, как и Г. А. Рачинский (председатель РФО), С. Н. Булгаков, Н. А. Бердяев, Е. Н. Трубецкой. Общество фактически было редакционным советом ‘Пути’: здесь происходили обсуждения издательских проектов, определялись общие оценки работы издательства, ‘Путь’ издавал тексты, в виде докладов и рефератов произнесенные авторами и обсужденные предварительно в РFO, и здесь же происходили прения по поводу книг, выпущенных издательством. Флоренский, как один из лидеров Религиозно-философского общества, играл в этом активную роль.<sup>10</sup>

Участие его, однако, отнюдь не ограничивалось этим. Значительным было идейное влияние Флоренского на участников ‘Пути’. По мнению ряда исследователей, например, его воздействие на Булгакова оказалось настолько сильным, что дальнейшее философское и богословское творчество последнего развивалось именно в русле идей Флоренского. Подобные отношения были у Флоренского и с другими, — это позволило современнику назвать его ‘вождем всего московского молодого славянофильства’.<sup>11</sup> В самом деле, роль Флоренского в ‘Пути’ можно определить как роль неформального лидера славянофильски настроенных участников издательства.

Начальный период существования ‘Пути’ ознаменовался шумной полемикой с русским отделением международного философского журнала ‘Логос’, которое существовало при издательстве ‘Мусагет’.<sup>12</sup> Считалось, что московский ‘Логос’ является органом русского неозападничества. Основным участником дискуссии со стороны ‘Пути’ был В. Ф. Эрн, печатно и устно резко нападавший на ‘Логос’ и вызывавший ответную реакцию оппонентов. Флоренский не участвовал в споре, однако следил за ним и был сторонником Эрна. Например, в одном из писем к коллеге (20 декабря 1912 г.) он отмечал благотворность дискуссии с ‘Логосом’ и поощрял Эрна за его самоотверженность.<sup>13</sup>

Характерно, что когда Бердяев по идейным причинам вышел в 1912 г. из состава редакционного комитета ‘Пути’ и начал открытую полемику с бывшими коллегами по издательству, оставшимися на ранее занятых ими

<sup>10</sup> См., например: Полищук Е. Церковь и интеллигенция: к истории диалога. — Журнал Московской Патриархии, 1991, № 4, с. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Определение В. В. Розанова. Цит. по: Литературный Иркутск, 1988, декабрь, с. 8.

<sup>12</sup> См. подробнее: Безродный М. В. Из истории русского неокантианства: (журнал ‘Логос’ и его редакторы). — Лица: биографический альманах. Москва; Санкт-Петербург: Феникс; Atheneum, вып. 1 (1992), с. 372—407.

<sup>13</sup> См.: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’. — Богословские труды. Москва: Издательство Московской Патриархии, сб. 28 (1987), с. 303.

позициях неославянофильства, одним из основных оппонентов он выбрал именно Флоренского. В творчестве последнего Бердяев обнаружил комплекс идей, несогласие с которыми привело его к конфликту с ‘Путем’ и заставило оставить издательство.<sup>14</sup> Мыслителем, непосредственно выражавшим многие идеологические постулаты издательства, считал Флоренского и А. Белый. Писатель поначалу участвовал в работе ‘Пути’, был среди авторов сборника ‘О религии Льва Толстого’ и должен был еще выполнить для издательства несколько работ (монографии о Н. Ф. Федорове и А. А. Фете для серии ‘Русские мыслители’),<sup>15</sup> однако его антропософские и антиправославные настроения помешали ему осуществить эти планы. С разъяснением своего несогласия с ‘Путем’ Белый обратился именно к Флоренскому<sup>16</sup> и получил от него благословение на отход от издательства:

‘Путь’ — не Ваш путь и не для Вас путь. Нужен и ‘Путь’. Но если Борис Бугаев [т.е. А. Белый] говорит, что он голоден и страждёт на ‘Пути’, неужели я все же скажу: ‘сиди, где сидишь’. Нет, я скажу ему: ‘Я не имею того хлеба, который ты просишь; но пусть Господь поможет тебе найти то, чего просит душа твоя. Иди и ищи; ищи и ищи, ищи не останавливайся. [...] Я не могу накормить тебя и, следовательно, не смею задерживать около себя. Раз ты говоришь, что голоден, то я могу одно лишь сказать — ищи.’<sup>17</sup>

Флоренский, долгое время являвшийся единственным духовным лицом в ‘Пути’, был как бы ‘связующим звеном’ между издательством (и Религиозно-философским обществом) и церковью.<sup>18</sup> Выражая свое мнение по поводу того или другого издания ‘Пути’, он специально обращал внимание коллег и читателей на то, насколько соответствует оно духу

<sup>14</sup> См.: Бердяев Николай. О ‘вечно-бабьем’ в русской душе. — Биржевые ведомости, утренний выпуск, 1915, 14 (27) января, № 14610, с. 2; 15 (28) января, № 14612, с. 2; Бердяев Николай. Ницше и современная Германия. — Биржевые ведомости, утренний выпуск, 1915, 4 (17) февраля, № 14647, с. 2; Бердяев Николай. Эпигонам славянофильства. — Биржевые ведомости, утренний выпуск, 1915, 18 февраля (3 марта), № 14678, с. 2; и др. Обобщенную оценку философом его разногласий с Флоренским и его сторонниками см., например: Бердяев Николай. Русская идея: основные проблемы русской мысли XIX века и начала XX века. Paris: YMCA Press, 1971, с. 242—245.

<sup>15</sup> См.: Андрей Белый и антропософия. Публ., [предисл. и прим.] Дж. Мальмстада. — Минувшее: исторический альманах. Москва: Открытое общество; Феникс, вып. 6 (1992), с. 439.

<sup>16</sup> См.: К истории отношений [П. А. Флоренского] с Андреем Белым. Подгот. текста Андроника (А. С. Трубачева), О. С. Никитиной, С. З. Трубачева, П. В. Флоренского, Е. В. Ивановой, Л. А. Ильюшиной. Вступит. ст. и comment. Е. В. Ивановой и Л. А. Ильюшиной. — Контекст: литературно-теоретические исследования: 1991. Москва: Наука, 1991, с. 46. (Письмо от 17 февраля (н.ст.) 1914 г.).

<sup>17</sup> Там же, с. 51. Курсив Флоренского.

<sup>18</sup> См.: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 304.

православия. Так, разбирая монографию Бердяева ‘Алексей Степанович Хомяков’, выпущенную ‘Путем’, Флоренский отмечал как ее отрицательную особенность, что ‘данная книга, по-своему не лишенная остроты мысли, и не вполне церковна и не достаточно обстоятельна’.<sup>19</sup> При этом он не использовал своих возможностей для осуществления влияния официальной церковности на деятельность ‘Пути’, более того, в ряде случаев по конкретным вопросам позиции Флоренского не только отличались от позиций православных иерархов, но и противоречили им.

Показательно, например, отношение философа к проблеме имеславия и его поведение в период обострения этой проблемы. Как известно, имеславцы — монахи-диссиденты на Афоне, утверждавшие, что само имя Божье является святыней и, таким образом, должно почитаться верующими полагающимся ему образом. Дискуссия идеологов имеславия и официальной православной церкви обрела столь острые формы, что в июне 1913 г. против афонских монахов была применена вооруженная сила. Это потрясло русское общество, и издательство ‘Путь’ должно было определиться в своем отношении к конфликту. Афонские события обсуждались в издательстве еще весной 1913 г., и в этих обсуждениях выяснилось, что большинство участников ‘Пути’ является сторонниками преследуемых имеславцев. Согласно утверждению хорошо информированного исследователя, защитники имеславия сплотились вокруг Флоренского,<sup>20</sup> солидарен с ним был и влиятельный в ‘Пути’ Булгаков.<sup>21</sup> Было решено, что издательство должно выразить свою позицию.<sup>22</sup> В. Ф. Эрн, ‘ближайший друг’ Флоренского,<sup>23</sup> последовательно выступавший во внутриредакционных спорах заодно с Флоренским и Булгаковым, предложил издать сборник, посвященный афонской проблеме.<sup>24</sup> Этую идею поддержал и глава издательства Г. А. Рачинский.<sup>25</sup> В итоге обсужде-

<sup>19</sup> Флоренский Павел. Алексей Степанович Хомяков: (критические заметки). Сергиев Посад: Типография Св.-Тр. Сергиевой Лавры, 1916, с. 17.

<sup>20</sup> См.: Андроник. Основные черты личности, жизнь и творчество священника Павла Флоренского. — Журнал Московской Патриархии, 1982, № 4, с. 17. О решительной поддержке Флоренским имеславцев пишет и Булгаков. См.: Булгаков Сергей. Священник о. Павел Флоренский. — Вестник Русского студенческого христианского движения, № 101—102, 1971, вып. III—IV, с. 133.

<sup>21</sup> См., например: Российский государственный архив литературы и искусства (далее РГАЛИ), ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 178 об., 191, 195 об. и др. О позиции Булгакова по отношению к этому конфликту см.: Булгаков С. Афонское дело. — Русская мысль, 1913, [сентябрь], кн. IX, [отд. 3], с. 37—46.

<sup>22</sup> См.: Письма Г. А. Рачинского к М. К. Морозовой. Публ. и прим. Н. А. Струве. — Вестник Русского христианского движения, № 145, 1985, вып. III, с. 157.

<sup>23</sup> РГБ РО, ф. 1458, оп. 1, ед. хр. 34, л. 54.

<sup>24</sup> См.: РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 314, л. 107 об., 106. В письме к Глинке (Волжскому) (13 августа 1913 г.), где Эрн изложил свой проект, он определил и название предлагаемого издания: ‘Спор об имени Божиим’.

<sup>25</sup> См.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 8, ед. хр. 2а, л. 12.

ний было решено, что специальный сборник действительно необходим и должен быть осуществлен.<sup>26</sup> Однако М. К. Морозова осторожно отнеслась к этому плану и обратилась за советом к Е. Н. Трубецкому, который в дискуссиях обычно выступал оппонентом ‘группы Булгакова’ и сам себя характеризовал как ‘левое крыло’ ‘Пути’.<sup>27</sup> Тот отрицательно отнесся к плану издания ‘имеславческого’ сборника и в подкрепление своей позиции сослался на компетентную оценку афонской ситуации, сделанную его братом, дипломатом и историком Г. Н. Трубецким:

[...] меня беспокоит последнее предпрятие ‘Пути’, — писал Е. Н. Трубецкой Морозовой (28 сентября 1913 г.). — Брат мой Гриша был у меня и много рассказал такого, что заставляет очень осторожно относиться к материалу, который мы получили. С обеих сторон *масса вранья*. Надо сказать, что, если с имеславцами было поступлено гнусно, то и их поведение было ниже всякой критики; спусканье с лестницы игумна, ломанье рук и ног противникам — их рук дело. Вообще, если бы им дать войска, они поступили бы так же с имеборцами, как с ними поступил Никон.<sup>28</sup>

Это мнение, в результате, оказалось решающим: сборник не был издан.

Определенная проимеславческая позиция Флоренского обусловила ряд сложностей в его отношениях с руководством православной церкви. Оценивая общую ситуацию, сложившуюся весной 1913 г. после официального осуждения имеславия Синодом и Вселенским Патриархом, Булгаков замечал в письме к А. С. Глинке (Волжскому) (26 мая 1913 г.):

И для о. Павла это осуждение создает конфликт, хотя и надеюсь, что на этот раз это еще смажется. Ах, как трудно совмещать свободное служение истине с обязательной (не внешне только) дисциплиной послушания клира, особенно в столь критическую эпоху как наша! Всякий раз возвращаешься мыслью ко всей безысходности этого конфликта!<sup>29</sup>

Позднее (21 сентября) в письме к тому же адресату Булгаков отмечал: ‘О. Павел пока благополучен, хотя и в немилости у еп. Феодора из-за “имеславия”’.<sup>30</sup> Проблемы, возникшие у Флоренского перед защитой его диссертации в Московской Духовной академии, Булгаковставил в связь с его позицией по отношению к имеславию.<sup>31</sup> Тем не менее, Флоренский собирался-таки принять участие в действиях издательства

<sup>26</sup> См.: РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 198—198 об.

<sup>27</sup> См.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 7, ед. хр. 1в, л. 47—47 об.

<sup>28</sup> Там же, карт. 8, ед. хр. 1б, л. 23—23 об. Курсив Трубецкого. Имеборцы, упоминаемые здесь, — оппоненты имеславцев, из числа афонских монахов.

<sup>29</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 195 об., 194.

<sup>30</sup> Там же, л. 199.

<sup>31</sup> См.: Там же, л. 202.

‘Путь’, направленных на поддержку афонских диссидентов, если бы такие последовали.<sup>32</sup> Но план ‘Пути’ расстроился, и философи пришлось прокламировать свои взгляды на взволновавший вопрос вне этой изда-тельской структуры.<sup>33</sup>

Флоренский стремился использовать интеллектуальный потенциал коллег по ‘Пути’ в своей церковной деятельности, увеличить их влияние на дела православия и предоставил им широкие возможности публикации в ‘Богословском вестнике’, редактором которого он был в 1912—1917 гг.<sup>34</sup> Показательно, что назначение Флоренского на эту должность было расценено Булгаковым как безусловно отрадное для ‘Пути’ событие. Еще с конца 1910 г. в изда-тельстве шло обсуждение возможности издания собственного журнала, но реализации этого проекта мешала нехватка квалифицированных сотрудников.<sup>35</sup> Когда же Флоренский стал руководитеlem ‘Богословского вестника’, Булгаков воспринял это как частичное, но удачное решение болезненной проблемы.<sup>36</sup> ‘Богословский вестник’, конечно, не стал филиалом изда-тельства ‘Путь’, но предоставил значительные возможности авторам этого круга обращаться к заинтересованной аудитории с текстами определенной направленности.

Одним из несомненных достижений ‘Пути’ явился выпуск книги Флоренского ‘Столп и утверждение Истины: опыт православной Феодицей в двенадцати письмах’. По свидетельству современников, выход в свет этого сочинения был ‘большим событием этого времени [...]. О нем много говорилось во всей культурной Москве’,<sup>37</sup> причем высказывались

<sup>32</sup> См.: Там же.

<sup>33</sup> Подробнее об этом см.: Бонецкая Н. К. Слово в теории языка П. А. Флоренского. — *Studia slavica Academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, t. 34 (1988), fasc. 1—4, p. 13—19; Андроник (Трубачев). [Примечания]. — Флоренский П. А. [Сочинения]. Москва: Правда, 1990, т. 2, с. 424—433; а также публикации самого Флоренского о проблеме имеславия: [Флоренский П. А.]. От Редакции. — Антоний (Булатович). Апология веры во Имя Божие и во Имя Иисус. Москва: Религиозно-философская библиотека, 1913, с. VII—XIV.

<sup>34</sup> См.: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 301. В числе лиц, которых желал привлечь к сотрудничеству в журнале Флоренский, следующие авторы ‘Пути’: С. Н. Булгаков, А. С. Глинка (Волжский), В. Ф. Эрн, А. В. Ельчанинов, А. Белый (все перечисленные — в прошлом сподвижники Флоренского по ‘Христианскому братству борьбы’. См.: Иванова Е. В. Флоренский и Христианское Братство Борьбы. — Вопросы философии, 1993, № 6, с. 159—166. Эта публикация ценна фактографией, хотя и дает малоубедительную интерпретацию излагаемых сведений), Н. А. Бердяев, Е. Н. Трубецкой, С. А. Цветков, В. И. Иванов, В. П. Карпов, С. А. Алексеев (Аскольдов), Г. А. Рачинский, С. Н. Дурылин, Н. А. Макшеева и др. (см.: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 301.)

<sup>35</sup> См.: РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 123 об., 173 об., 171.

<sup>36</sup> См.: Там же, л. 176.

<sup>37</sup> Иванова Лидия. Воспоминания: книга об отце. [Paris]: Atheneum, [1990], с. 60.

и восторженные и уничижительные оценки,<sup>38</sup> и весь тираж (две тысячи экземпляров), несмотря на высокую цену (3 рубля 50 копеек), разошелся ‘нарасхват’.<sup>39</sup> Т. В. Розанова позднее писала, что ‘эта книга сыграла колossalную роль в тогдашнем обществе. Вся сознательная интеллигенция зачитывалась ею и полагала, что нашла все ответы на свои духовные запросы’.<sup>40</sup> Согласно С. И. Фуделю, это издание ‘Пути’ было воспринято как явление религиозного диссидентства: ‘Книгу Флоренского встретила с радостью главным образом тогдашняя молодежь, а то недоброжелательство, с которым ее встретили некоторые ученые люди, [...] объясняется главным образом тем, что автор нарушил все традиции и каноны профессорского богословствования, весь привычный богословский стандарт’.<sup>41</sup> Нетрадиционный, подлинно новаторский подход Флоренского ко многим вопросам определил значение этого труда: со ‘Столпа’ началась ‘новая эра в русском богословии’, книга ‘революционизировала не только богословское мышление, но также стиль и форму русской богословской литературы’<sup>42</sup> и поставила ее автора ‘в ряд крупнейших русских богословов’.<sup>43</sup> Нетривиальность сочинения была такова, что ‘даже просвещеннейшие иерархи — члены Синода, от которых можно было ожидать беспристрастия и широты воззрений’, отнеслись к нему негативно.<sup>44</sup> В письме Булгакова к А. С. Глинке (Волжскому) (5 апреля 1914 г.) отмечено:

Над головой о. Павла Фл.[оренского] все собираются тучи. Утверждают, что его диссертация не будет одобрена в синоде, а сам он уже начинает советоваться об устроении своем после изгнания из академии. Не дай Бог этого, ради Академии самой!<sup>45</sup>

Именно в книге Флоренского ‘Столп и утверждение Истины’, выпущенной издательством ‘Путь’, по позднейшему признанию автора, наиболее

<sup>38</sup> Например, архиепископ Антоний (Храповицкий) определил ‘Столп’ как ‘просто хлыстовский бред’ (цит. по: *Андроник* (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 308).

<sup>39</sup> Фридман В. Г. Теория относительности и антирелигиозная пропаганда. Москва: ОГИЗ, 1932, с. 59. Подобное же свидетельство встречается в переписке Булгакова. В письме от 5 апреля 1914 г. он сообщил Глинке (Волжскому): ‘Книга имела исключительный успех, все издание (2000) уже почти все разошлось’ (РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 217 об.).

<sup>40</sup> Розанова Т. В. Из воспоминаний. Вступ. ст. и публ. А. Н. Богословского. — Вопросы литературы, 1990, октябрь, с. 216.

<sup>41</sup> Фудель С. И. Об о. Павле Флоренском: (1882—1943). 2-е изд. Paris: YMCA Press, 1988, с. 90.

<sup>42</sup> Зернов Н. Русское религиозное возрождение XX века. Пер. с англ. Paris: YMCA Press, 1974, с. 113.

<sup>43</sup> Там же, с. 114.

<sup>44</sup> См.: Богословские труды, сб. 28 (примечание 13), с. 297. (Цитируется письмо еп. Феодора (Поздеевского) от 28 января 1914 г.)

<sup>45</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 217 об.

полно запечатлелись его методы и воззрения.<sup>46</sup> Обширный богословско-философский труд содержит экскурсы в область других наук (логики, медицины, теории познания, филологии, математики, фольклористики и пр.) и включает в себя более тысячи подробных примечаний, обширнейший список литературы и источников, в том числе иноязычных. Необычна и литературная форма книги: ‘Столп’ написан в стилизованно-архаическом стиле ‘писем’ и как бы представляет собой непосредственное повествование автора о его интимных религиозных и нравственных переживаниях. ‘Столп’ аккумулировал итоги многолетних духовных и разносторонних исследовательских усилий Флоренского, а потому действительно является ‘главным печатным произведением о. Павла’.<sup>47</sup>

Издание изобретательно оформлено самим Флоренским, и все элементы его облика объяснены автором в тексте:<sup>48</sup> использование различных декоративных шрифтов, особенности набора, верстки, цветовое решение обложки, заимствованные из старинных западноевропейских изданий графические заставки, — все это было выбрано в точном соответствии с содержанием книги, иллюстрировало и дополняло выраженные в тексте идеи Флоренского, несло важную смысловую нагрузку. Исключительным значением оригинального облика этой книги ‘Пути’ была определена последующая традиция ее факсимильного переиздания.<sup>49</sup> Особенности оформления книги стали возможны благодаря личному участию автора в ее производстве. Флоренский проводил много времени в типографии Товарищества А. И. Мамонтова, наблюдая за процессом подготовки своей книги к печати, руководя работами. Поскольку специального контроля со стороны издательства за ходом изготовления ‘Столпа’ не было, в результате столь тесного взаимодействия автора и типографии объем книги сильно увеличился по сравнению с первоначально предполагавшимся. О том ‘волнении’, какое вызвало в ‘Пути’ обнаружившееся ‘непомерное разрастание книги Флоренского’, писал 27 декабря 1912 г. одному из своих корреспондентов Булгаков.<sup>50</sup> Показательно, что ознакомиться с результатами труда Флоренского сотрудники издательства (как Морозова и Трубецкой, например<sup>51</sup>) смогли лишь по выходе книги

<sup>46</sup> См.: РНБ РО СДП, ф. 194, оп. 1, ед. хр. 891, л. 2 об.

<sup>47</sup> Франк С. Л. Из истории русской философской мысли конца XIX и начала XX века: антология. — [Washington, N.Y.]: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1965, с. 198.

<sup>48</sup> См.: Флоренский Павел. Столп и утверждение Истины: опыт православной Феодицей в двенадцати письмах. Москва: Путь, [1913], с. 807.

<sup>49</sup> См. репринтные издания: Берлин, 1928; Лондон, 1970; Париж, 1989; Москва, 1990.

<sup>50</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 180 об.

<sup>51</sup> См.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 3, ед. хр. 6а, л. 17 об. 23 декабря 1913 г. Трубецкой писал Морозовой: ‘Я с большим увлечением возобновил чтение книги Флоренского. Главы о грехе, о геен[н]е, о Софии и о дружбе — дивные, и мне бы очень хотелось, чтобы ты их прочла. [...] Во всяком случае это — большой талант, к которому надо отнести бережно

в свет.

Когда ‘Столп’, наконец, вышел из печати, он вызвал полемику между философами круга ‘Пути’. В январе 1914 г. Трубецкой обратился к автору книги с личными письмами, в которых заявил о своем несогласии с рядом ее положений.<sup>52</sup> В это же время с резкой критикой позиций Флоренского выступил в печати Бердяев.<sup>53</sup> Его реакция на выход ‘Столпа’ вызвала возмущение Трубецкого, как ‘ожесточенные нападки’, неверные по форме и по существу: об этом он заявил в докладе ‘Свет Фаворский и преображение ума’ на состоявшемся 26 февраля 1914 г. заседании Религиозно-философского общества<sup>54</sup> и в более пространной, доработанной по результатам обсуждения статье под тем же заглавием, которая была опубликована впоследствии в журнале ‘Русская мысль’.<sup>55</sup> В обоих выступлениях Трубецкой обвинил Бердяева в ‘упадочном дилетантизме’ и ‘декадентском алогизме’, попутно заявив о неубедительности философских построений этого мыслителя, но одновременно высказал и

и любовно. Во мне все больше укрепляется намерение так или иначе отозваться на эту книгу, — либо рефератом, либо статьей, — оценить положительное и приветствовать “дар Божий”, но именно с этой точки зрения напасть на примесь ходячей *школьной* мудрости, которая портит целое — на узкое славянофильтво в стиле Эрна и на нелепо-дилетантский “антиномизм” (РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 8, ед. хр. 16, л. 46 об.—47. Курсив Трубецкого).

<sup>52</sup> См.: Переписка князя Евгения Николаевича Трубецкого и священника Павла Флоренского. Публ. Андроника (Трубачева), С. М. Половинкина, П. В. Флоренского. Прим. С. М. Половинкина и Андроника (Трубачева). — Вопросы философии, 1989, № 12, с. 103—111. Сообщая Морозовой об ответе Флоренского на свое письмо, Трубецкой характеризовал его: ‘замечательно милый и сердечный ответ, очень меня тронувший’ (РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 8, ед. хр. 2а, л. 3). Обходительность Флоренского, однако, не изменила мнения Трубецкого о книге, и князь сохранил намерение начать полемику с автором ‘Столпа’.

<sup>53</sup> См.: Бердяев Николай. Стилизованное православие. — Русская мысль, 1914, [январь], кн. I, [отд. 2], с. 109—125.

<sup>54</sup> См.: Трубецкой Евгений. Свет Фаворский и преображение ума: по поводу книги священника П. А. Флоренского ‘Столп и утверждение Истины’. Изд. книгоиздательства ‘Путь’. Москва, 1914 г. — Вопросы философии, 1989, № 12, с. 112—129. Согласно Морозовой, Флоренский поначалу надеялся избежать этой публичной полемики по поводу своей книги (см.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 3, ед. хр. 4, л. 39 об.): ‘Флоренский писал Рачку [т.е. Рачинскому], что он на собрании [Религиозно-философского общества] быть не может, а в *интимном* кружке с тобой [т.е. с адресатом этого письма, Трубецким] очень хотел бы побеседовать! Мы думаем устроить беседу в *Пути* когда ты скажешь, вечером, в тесном кружке!’ (курсив Морозовой). Трубецкой, все же, посчитал невозможным и неправильным ограничиваться внутридедакционной дискуссией и добился публичного диспута. До чтения реферата в РФО, тем не менее, он предварительно ознакомил с его содержанием Морозову (см.: Там же, карт. 8, ед. хр. 2а, л. 3 об.).

<sup>55</sup> См.: Трубецкой Евгений. Свет Фаворский и преображение ума: по поводу книги священника П. А. Флоренского ‘Столп и утверждение Истины’. Изд. книгоиздательства ‘Путь’. Москва, 1914 г. — Русская мысль, 1914, [май], кн. V, [отд. 2], с. 25—54. В письме к Морозовой (9 марта 1914 г.) Трубецкой сообщал: ‘[...] я подчистил статью о Флоренском, срезал углы, устранил то, что, казалось, могло бы ему повредить, подчеркнул глубоко христианский характер книги, а недостатки отметил не как несоответствующие христианству, а именно как несоответствующие общему христианскому духу книги отдельные черты в ней, для автора и его воззрения несущественные’ (РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 8, ед. хр. 2а, л. 20).

развернутую критику книги Флоренского. Трубецкому решительно возразили Булгаков и Иванов, однозначно поддержавшие Флоренского.<sup>56</sup> Скорее сочувственно, но очень критично отнесся к новому изданию ‘Пути’ петербургский сотрудник издательства С. А. Алексеев (Аскольдов). В частном письме (21 апреля 1914 г.) он писал:

От книги Флоренского у меня сложное впечатление. Бессспорно, есть много ценного в богословском смысле и в психологич.[еском]. [...] Главная ценность, по-моему, в главе О геенне. Тут внесено нечто очень существенное и глубокомысленное.<sup>57</sup>

Однако, замечал при этом Алексеев, ‘что же касается философии, виньеточек, филологии, ученейших примечаний, изысканной простоты и т.д., то об этом “помолшим немного”’.<sup>58</sup>

При всех различиях высказанных оценок, книга в целом была признана ‘главным теоретическим и основополагательным обнаружением’ для всего идейного движения неославянофильства, поскольку она ‘глубоко и многосторонне касалась всех главных проблем религиозной философии и давала своеобразную и законченную систему религиозной мысли’.<sup>59</sup>

Обозначенная в книге дата издания — 1914 г. — долгое время принималась авторами, исследовавшими творчество Флоренского, за истинную, и на этом основании путевский ‘Столп’ определялся ими как окончательный результат работы Флоренского над этим сочинением, ‘четвертая редакция’.<sup>60</sup> Между тем, это не так, и 1914 г. не является истинной датой. Сам автор датировал книгу 1913-м г.,<sup>61</sup> и действительно, согласно ‘Книжной летописи Главного управления по делам печати’, готовое издание путевского ‘Столпа’ было представлено в Управление по делам печати осенью 1913 г.<sup>62</sup> Это издание, как показывает изучение обстоятельств, вовсе не являлось итоговой версией книги.

<sup>56</sup> См. дневниковую запись В. К. Шварсалон от 28 февраля 1914 г. (Вестник Русского христианского движения, № 160, 1990, вып. III, с. 122—123).

<sup>57</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 181, л. 18—18 об.

<sup>58</sup> Там же, л. 18.

<sup>59</sup> Яковенко Б. Очерки русской философии. Берлин: Русское Универсальное Издательство, 1922, с. 109.

<sup>60</sup> См., например: Зернов Н. Русское религиозное возрождение XX века (примечание 42), с. 113; Фудель С. И. Об о. Павле Флоренском (примечание 41), с. 13; Бонецкая Н. К. Слово в теории языка П. А. Флоренского (примечание 33), р. 16; [Струве Н. А. От издательства]. — Флоренский Павел. Собрание сочинений. Paris: YMCA Press, 1989, т. IV, 4 с. обл.; Андроник (Трубачев). 75 лет книге. — Памятные книжные даты: 1989. [Москва: Книга, 1989], с. 56; Хоружий С. С. О философии священника Павла Флоренского. — Флоренский П. А. [Сочинения] (примечание 33), т. 1, ч. I, с. VII; и мн. др.

<sup>61</sup> См.: Флоренский Павел. О духовной истине. Москва, 1913, вып. 2, с. III.

<sup>62</sup> С 26 ноября по 9 декабря 1913 г. См.: Книжная Летопись Главного Управления по делам печати, 1913, 14 декабря, № 48, с. 32, № 32110.

Первоначальный вариант сочинения Флоренского был издан еще в ноябре 1908 г., без какого бы то ни было участия ‘Пути’.<sup>63</sup> Но вследствии вышло еще три издания, различающихся по составу текстов и оформлению,<sup>64</sup> — и их сличение показывает, что все они имеют к издательству ‘Путь’ самое непосредственное отношение.

В них использован один и тот же шрифтовой набор: идентичны дефекты ряда литер, некоторые опечатки, другие графические особенности текста, частично совпадает верстка. То есть, все эти книги были отпечатаны с металла, который был подготовлен типографией А. И. Мамонтова по заказу ‘Пути’.

Вместе с тем, том с маркой издательства имеет более грязный набор: на страницах 811—812 приведен список ‘Замеченные погрешности’, в остальных же изданиях перечисленные опечатки уже исправлены, исправлены и некоторые другие ошибки ‘большого’ ‘Столпа’. Это дает достаточные основания для того, чтобы определенно утверждать: ‘Столп’ ‘Пути’ был изготовлен прежде, чем появились оба сокращенных издания. Подтверждает такой вывод и следующая особенность верстки набора: в примечаниях сокращенных изданий полоса набора заметно смешена по отношению к колонцифре и оставляет слева широкое свободное поле. Это ненужное поле возникло потому, что по макету предыдущего, полного издания здесь располагался вспомогательный текстовой набор — номера страниц, к которым относились данные примечания.

В книгах без марки издательства ‘Путь’ верстка использованного старого набора примечаний несколько изменена, а часть текста набрана заново в иной редакции. Согласно разъяснению самого Флоренского, изменения были произведены ‘ради дешевизны вторичного набора’.<sup>65</sup> Это

<sup>63</sup> См.: [Флоренский Павел]. Столп и Утверждение Истины: (письма к Другу). [Москва, 1908]. Эта брошюра в 162 страницы была подготовлена на базе первоначальной публикации в сборнике ‘Вопросы религии’ (Москва, 1908, вып. 2, с. 223—384) и отпечатана типографией Вильде тиражом в 200 экземпляров. Сведения о ее выходе см.: Книжная Летопись Главного Управления по делам печати, 1908, 22 ноября, № 46, с. 19, № 20941. См. также дополнение к этому изданию — не учтенную ‘Книжной летописью’ брошюру в 26 страниц: Флоренский П. ‘Столп и утверждение истины’. Москва: Печатня А. И. Снегиревой, 1908.

<sup>64</sup> Кроме уже названного издания ‘Пути’ см.: Флоренский Павел. О духовной истине: опыт православной Феодицей. Москва: Товарищество типографии А. И. Мамонтова, 1913, вып. [1] + 2, 534 с. + LXXIV с.; Флоренский Павел. О духовной истине: опыт православной Феодицей. Москва: Товарищество типографии А. И. Мамонтова, 1913. вып. [1] + 2, 252 с. + LXII с.

<sup>65</sup> Цит. по: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 298. Приведем развернутый фрагмент цитируемого здесь письма Флоренского к Н. Н. Глубоковскому (20 октября 1917 г.), поскольку в нем содержится существенная информация о различиях между путевским ‘Столпом’ и остальными изданиями сочинения Флоренского, а также даны подробности работы автора по выпуску книг: ‘О диссертации своей “О духовной Истине” я хотел бы сказать лишь то, что ни в ней, ни где бы то ни было я, в угоду кому

замечание автора также подтверждает предположение о вторичности ‘малых’ вариантов диссертационного сочинения Флоренского.

Согласно рекламной информации ‘Пути’, к началу 1912 г. ‘Столп’ был в основном готов, печатался,<sup>66</sup> и его выпуск был назначен на февраль 1912 г.<sup>67</sup> Поэтому вероятно, что 5 апреля 1912 г. Флоренский представил в Совет Московской Духовной академии для защиты в качестве магистерской диссертации уже материалы, подготовленные им специально для издания ‘Пути’.<sup>68</sup> Можно заметить, однако, что в последней части ‘большого’ ‘Столпа’ содержится несколько комментариев, включающих библиографические записи о публикациях 1912 и даже начала 1913 гг.<sup>69</sup> Из этого однозначно следует, что допечатывание комментариев ‘Столпа’ продолжалось еще и в 1913 г. О том же свидетельствует и письмо Булгакова к Глинке (Волжскому) от 13 апреля 1913 г., где говорится, что книга Флоренского ‘еще не готова’.<sup>70</sup>

Таким образом, исходя из всей имеющейся информации, можно уверенно заключить, что порядок изготовления трех основных вариантов сочинения Флоренского был следующим. Сначала, в 1912 г., автор подготовил и отпечатал основной корпус полного издания ‘Столпа’ (вторая после 1908 г. редакция или, точнее, первая полная; завершающая работа над ней продолжалась до осени 1913 г.), затем он издал сокращенный текст, специально предназначенный для защиты в качестве магистерской диссертации (третья редакция),<sup>71</sup> а когда этот вариант был отвергнут руко-

бы то ни было, не писал ни одной запятой. Но кое-чем существенно входящим в ткань книги моей [‘Столп и утверждение Истины’] пришлось поступиться, не потому, чтобы я боялся Св. Синода, а потому, что я не был в нравственном праве требовать Синодской санкции тем сторонам своей книги, которые казались моему рецензенту недостойными таковой, и это пишу по чистой совести [...]. Итак, что же опущено в “О духовной Истине” сравнительно со “Столпом и утверждением Истины”? Во-первых, лирические места. [...] Далее, опущен ряд глав-писем, как мне кажется, представляющих собою философско-богословский *τέλος* книги. [...] Что же касается до примечаний, то их сокращение обусловлено исключительно экономическими соображениями — ради дешевизны вторичного набора [...]’ (РНБ РО СДП, ф. 194, оп. 1, ед. хр. 891, л. 1 об.—2).

<sup>66</sup> См.: Булгаков Сергей. Философия хозяйства, ч. 1. Мир как хозяйство. Москва: Путь, 1912, [отд. 3], с. VII.

<sup>67</sup> См.: Книгоиздательство ‘Путь’. [Каталог]. Москва, [1911], с. 4; Дюшен Л. История древней церкви. Москва: Путь, 1912, т. 1, с. 387. См. также относящееся к этому времени (2 марта 1912 г.) письмо Флоренского к В. А. Кожевникову с упоминанием ‘Столпа’: ‘Мой “Столп” до такой степени опротивел мне, что я часто думаю про себя: да не есть ли выпускание его в свет — акт нахальства [...] ?!’ (Цит. по: Андроник. Основные черты личности, жизнь и творчество священника Павла Флоренского (примечание 20), с. 16).

<sup>68</sup> См.: Андроник (Трубачев). Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 296.

<sup>69</sup> См.: Флоренский Павел. Столп и утверждение Истины: опыт православной Феодицей в двенадцати письмах. Москва: Путь, [1913], с. 794.

<sup>70</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 191 об.

<sup>71</sup> См.: Книжная Летопись Главного Управления по делам печати, 1913, 19 января, № 3.

водителем Флоренского, ректором Московской Духовной академии епископом Феодором (Поздеевским), указавшим на необходимость исключия из представленного сочинения ряда идеологически сомнительных фрагментов,<sup>72</sup> Флоренский выпустил еще более сокращенный, четвертый вариант книги,<sup>73</sup> который и был защищен им 19 мая 1914 г. в качестве магистерской диссертации.<sup>74</sup> Все говорит о том, что книга ‘Столп и утверждение Истины’, выпущенная издательством ‘Путь’, является не ‘четвертой редакцией’, а второй, базовой редакцией, подготовленной в основном уже в 1912 г. и впоследствии перерабатывавшейся автором, в соответствии с его практическими задачами. Подтверждает наш вывод и свидетельство весьма осведомленного современника — профессора Московской Духовной академии и активного сотрудника ‘Богословского вестника’ В. А. Соколова. В позднейшей статье, посвященной духовной цензуре в России, он писал: ‘Достаточно вспомнить три фазы “эволюции” известного труда о. Флоренского “Столп и Утверждение истины”: книга дважды урезывалась, так как последние главы казались опасными [...]]; и на утверждение Синода пошла только первая половина книги.’<sup>75</sup>

Кроме выпуска ‘Столпа’, Флоренский осуществил или собирался осуществить для ‘Пути’ ряд проектов. В 1912 г. в этом издательстве был выпущен перевод сочинения И. Зейпеля ‘Хозяйственно-этические взгляды отцов Церкви’, редактировавшийся Флоренским.<sup>76</sup> В 1916 г. философ

с. 27, № 2234; 6 июля, № 26, с. 26, № 16538. Книга вышла тиражом в 100 экземпляров; по замечанию автора, она уже не вполне точно, в сравнении с путевским ‘Столпом’, выражала его взгляды и методы (см.: РНБ РО СДП, ф. 194, оп. 1, ед. хр. 891, л. 2 об.).

<sup>72</sup> См.: *Андроник (Трубачев)*. Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 297. (Приводится письмо от 28 января 1914 г.).

<sup>73</sup> Это издание в продажу не поступало, не распространялось и было предназначено исключительно для служебного использования — для защиты в Московской Духовной академии. В текущей библиографии Главного Управления по делам печати сведения об этом издании отсутствуют, однако оно могло появиться лишь в промежутке между 28 января (письмо Феодора) и 28 марта (заседание Совета академии, на котором уже имелся окончательный вариант текста) 1914 г. Книга была изготовлена в очень небольшом количестве (которого не хватило даже на всех членов Совета. См.: *Никанор. Столп и утверждение истины. (Опыт православной Феодицей в двенадцати письмах)* свящ. Павла Флоренского [...]: [Рец.]. — Миссионерское обозрение, 1916, январь, № 1, с. 90), — вероятно, кустарным способом. Ср. с позднейшим свидетельством Булгакова: *Булгаков С. Н. У стен Херсониса. [Санкт-Петербург: Дорваль; Лига; Гарт], 1993, с. 53—54*. Следует отметить, что епископ Феодор (Поздеевский) на защите диссертации Флоренского отстаивал иной порядок изданий (см.: *Феодор. ‘О духовной истине’: Опыт православной Феодицей (‘Столп и Утверждение Истины’)*, свящ. П. Флоренского. Сергиев Посад: Типография Св.-Тр. Сергиевой Лавры, 1914, с. 3). Очевидно, его неточность была определена тактическими соображениями.

<sup>74</sup> См.: *Андроник (Трубачев)*. Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 298—299.

<sup>75</sup> Соколов Вас. Реставрация или стилизация? — Русская свобода, 1917, [8 августа], № 16—17, с. 17.

<sup>76</sup> См.: Письма С. Н. Булгакова к М. К. Морозовой. Публ. и прим. Н. А. Струве. —

вместе с Булгаковым выпустил книгу ‘Из рукописей Анны Николаевны Шмидт’.<sup>77</sup> Это объемистый сборник мистических сочинений безвестной нижегородской журналистки, корреспондентки В. С. Соловьева, сюда же включены и письма Соловьева к Шмидт. Книга была напечатана на средства Булгакова, Флоренский же принимал участие в ее подготовке, написании предисловия и составлении примечаний.<sup>78</sup> Поскольку в период подготовки рукописи обнаружилось негативное отношение ряда сотрудников издательства (прежде всего Е. Н. Трубецкого<sup>79</sup>) к сочинениям Шмидт, малообразованной и, вероятно, душевно нездоровой мыслительницы, с титула книги были убраны сведения об издательской ответственности ‘Пути’. Тем не менее, по выходе сборника в свет, он распространялся именно через это издательство, с его книжного склада и как собственная продукция ‘Пути’.<sup>80</sup> Как и предвидели в издательстве, книга произвела скандал и откровения Шмидт были оценены многими читателями как ‘нечто чудовищное’.<sup>81</sup> В печати, однако, книга была благосклонно отмечена: в статье Бердяева, посвященной сборнику Шмидт, говорилось, что книга ‘необыкновенна и заслуживает проникновенного чтения’.<sup>82</sup>

Помимо этого, Флоренский принимал участие в подготовке библиографического указателя для сборника ‘О Владимире Соловьеве’,<sup>83</sup> в подборе переводчиков для специальной программы ‘Пути’ по изданию переводной литературы,<sup>84</sup> и т.д. Ряд его планов, связанных с ‘Путем’, не

Вестник Русского христианского движения, № 144, 1985, вып. I—II, с. 128. Перевод был выполнен Ф. А. Капелюшем, Н. А. Сафонеевым, Л. С. Мееровичем и снабжен предисловием Булгакова.

<sup>77</sup> См.: Шмидт Анна Николаевна. Из рукописей: О Будущности; Третий Завет; Из дневника; Письма и пр.: С письмами к ней Вл. Соловьева. [Москва: Путь], 1916.

<sup>78</sup> См.: Вадимов [Цветков] А. В. Комментарии. — Бердяев Н. А. Самопознание (примечание 7), с. 420; Письма С. Н. Булгакова к М. К. Морозовой (примечание 76), с. 135; К истории отношений [П. А. Флоренского] с Андреем Белым (примечание 16), с. 59. Хотя рукописи Шмидт были получены в ‘Пути’ уже в конце 1910 г. (см.: Булгаков С. Н. Письма Андрею Белому (Б. Н. Бугаеву). Предисл., публ. и comment. И. Б. Роднянской. — Новый мир, 1989, октябрь, № 10, с. 239), Флоренский ознакомился с материалами будущей книги, по просьбе Булгакова, только летом 1912 г. См.: Письма С. Н. Булгакова к М. К. Морозовой (примечание 76), с. 130.

<sup>79</sup> Подробнее о его отношении к творчеству Шмидт см.: Переписка князя Евгения Николаевича Трубецкого и священника Павла Флоренского (примечание 52), с. 106.

<sup>80</sup> См.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 20, ед. хр. 6, л. 3; а также: Шмидт Анна Николаевна. Из рукописей (примечание 77), [отд. 1], с. 2. На то, что книга была выпущена именно ‘Путем’, указывает и близкий к издательству С. М. Лукьянов (см.: Лукьянов С. М. О Вл. С. Соловьеве в его мологие годы: материалы к биографии. Публ. А. А. Носова. Москва: Книга, 1990, кн. 3, вып. II, с. 195).

<sup>81</sup> РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 181, л. 9.

<sup>82</sup> Бердяев Николай. Повесть о небесном роде. — Русская мысль, 1916, [март], кн. III, [отд. 3], с. 9.

<sup>83</sup> См.: Эрн В. Библиография. — Сборник первый (примечание 2), с. 207.

<sup>84</sup> Например, Флоренский договорился с профессором Казанского университета Д. П. Шестаковым о переводе им для серии ‘Классики философии’ сочинений Дионисия Арео-

осуществился: так, специально для серии брошюр, предназначавшихся издательством массовой аудитории, Флоренский собирался написать очерк о скитах близ Троице-Сергиевой лавры,<sup>85</sup> в серии ‘Русские мыслители’ была запланирована его книга об о. Серапионе Машкине,<sup>86</sup> среди намеченных ‘Путем’ изданий зарубежных философов была объявлена книга В. Анри ‘Антиномии языка’ в переводе Флоренского,<sup>87</sup> кроме того, Флоренский предполагал участвовать в сборнике памяти В. Ф. Эрна, затевавшемся в 1917 г.,<sup>88</sup> а несколько позднее, в 1918—1919 гг., он готовил для издательства ‘Путь’ свое собрание сочинений.<sup>89</sup> Главной причиной того, что все эти проекты не были осуществлены, стали политические изменения, произошедшие в России в 1917 г. Установление в стране коммунистического режима привело к фактическому прекращению деятельности, а затем и ликвидации издательства ‘Путь’.

Осенью 1918 г. Московским Советом рабочих и красноармейских депутатов была проведена энергичная кампания национализации предприятий

пагита. В издательстве отметили, что новый автор, подобранный Флоренским, особенно ценен своей идейной близостью ‘Пути’. Рачинский писал Морозовой (14 июля 1914 г.): ‘Он [т.е. Шестаков] написал Флоренскому, что весьма сочувствует “Пути” и считает мистическую философию высшей формой философии, что бы ни говорили против мистики’ (Письма Г. А. Рачинского к М. К. Морозовой (примечание 22), с. 160). См. также: *Андроник (Трубачев)*. Священник Павел Флоренский — профессор Московской Духовной Академии и редактор ‘Богословского вестника’ (примечание 13), с. 305. (Приводится свидетельство А. Ф. Лосева об участии Флоренского в переводе творения Дионисия Ареопагита ‘О Божественных именах’).

<sup>85</sup> См.: РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 190.

<sup>86</sup> Эта работа Флоренского была написана, но не издана. См.: *Флоренский П. А. Биографические сведения: (Автореферат)*. — Вестник Русского христианского движения, № 135, 1981, вып. III—IV, с. 58. Редакционный анонс этого издания см., например: Эрн В. Григорий Саввич Сковорода: Жизнь и учение. Москва: Путь, 1912, с. 346.

<sup>87</sup> См.: Там же.

<sup>88</sup> См.: Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский дом), Рукописный отдел (далее ИРЛИ РО), р. III, оп. 1, ед. хр. 99, л. 59 об., 60. По свидетельству Булгакова, инициатором и поборником издания был Флоренский, — в письме к Глинке (Волжскому) (24 декабря 1917 г.) Булгаков отмечал: ‘О. Павел все проектирует издать сборник об Эрне’ (РГАЛИ, ф. 142, оп. 1, ед. хр. 198, л. 282 об.). Вероятно, основу сборника должны были составить тексты выступлений на заседании Религиозно-философского общества, посвященном памяти Эрна. На этом собрании были заслушаны речи Г. А. Рачинского, С. Н. Дурылина, С. Н. Булгакова, Н. А. Бердяева, С. М. Соловьева. Кроме того, в РГО прислали тексты выступлений А. С. Глинка (Волжский) и П. А. Флоренский (см.: РГАЛИ, ф. 1458, оп. 1, ед. хр. 34, л. 3). В сборнике предполагалось также участие М. О. Гершензона и Е. Я. Архипова (см.: ИРЛИ РО, р. III, оп. 1, ед. хр. 99, л. 59 об.—60). Согласно Архипову, обсуждалась и возможность выпуска книги об Эрне вне издательства ‘Путь’: ‘Говорят, — писал Архипов Гершензону, — что сборник собираются издавать С. Н. Булгаков и П. А. Флор. [енский], а не кн-[игоиздательство]во “Путь”. Но будет ли сборник наверное, — мне так и не известно’ (Там же, л. 59 об. Курсив Архипова).

<sup>89</sup> См.: *Флоренский П. А. [Сочинения]*. (примечание 33), т. 2, с. 14, 362. Датировка этого проекта дана по: *Андроник (Трубачев)*. Предисловие. — *Флоренский Павел. Детям моим; Воспоминанья прошлых дней; Генеалогические исследования; Из соловецких писем; Завещание*. [Москва]: Московский рабочий, 1992, с. 13.

книгоиздательства и книжной торговли: за короткое время был принят целый ряд постановлений, направленных на ограничение частных издательских структур в Москве, установление контроля над ними и последующую их ликвидацию. ‘Все имеющиеся в Москве частные книгоиздательства, книжные склады, магазины, лавки и библиотеки общественного пользования со всеми запасами книг и бумаги объявляются собственностью Москов.[ского] Совета Р.[абочих] и Красноарм.[ейских] Д.[епутатов]’, — говорилось в постановлении президиума Московского Совета ‘О муниципализации книгоиздательства и книжной торговли’ от 23 октября 1918 г.<sup>90</sup> По этому документу, ‘все помещения частных книгоиздательств, книжных складов [ . . . ] со всех их оборудованием, а также капиталы наличными в кассе и на текущих счетах и вкладами на хранение, принадлежащие как фирмам, так и владельцам’, перешли в собственность Моссовета. Тогда же городскими властями были опечатаны все магазины и книгоиздательства<sup>91</sup> и, таким образом, по утверждению Н. С. Ангарского (Клестова), главы отдела печати Моссовета, ‘к Отделу перешло *фактическое* распоряжение складами частных издательств, их денежными средствами и руководство всей издательской деятельностью’.<sup>92</sup> Эти мероприятия самым непосредственным образом затронули и ‘Путь’: склад книгоиздательства, продолжавший работать до этого времени,<sup>93</sup> был опечатан.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Постановление Президиума Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов ‘О муниципализации книгоиздательства и книжной торговли’. — Известия Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета Советов Крестьянских, Рабочих, Солдатских и Казачьих Депутатов и Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов, 1918, 25 октября, № 233 (497), с. 5.

<sup>91</sup> См.: Центральный государственный архив Московской области (далее ЦГАМО), ф. 66, оп. 12, ед. хр. 452, л. 33.

<sup>92</sup> Там же. Курсив Ангарского.

<sup>93</sup> Склад ‘Пути’ продолжал действовать еще летом 1918 г. (см.: Трубецкой Е. Смысл жизни. Москва, 1918, 4 с. обл.). Вероятно, в это время он считался филиалом книжного склада ‘Издательства преподавателей Московского университета’ (что могло обезопасить от конфискации книги, хранившиеся в ‘Пути’). 27 мая 1918 г. Морозовой было выдано удостоверение на бланке ‘Издательства преподавателей Московского университета’, — согласно этому документу, Морозова числилась помощницей заведующего складом университетского издательства (см.: РГБ РО, ф. 171, карт. 20, ед. хр. 11. Удостоверение подписано приват-доцентом Н. С. Арсеньевым — философом и богословом, близким к Религиозно-философскому обществу и издательству ‘Путь’. Подробнее о нем см.: Биншток А. Н. С. Арсеньев: [Некролог]. — Вестник Русского христианского движения, № 126, 1978, вып. III, с. 305—306).

<sup>94</sup> См.: ЦГАМО, ф. 66, оп. 12, ед. хр. 452, л. 73 об. После этого конфискованные издания должны были поступить в распоряжение Межведомственного бюро по распределению книжных запасов Москвы (см.: Там же, л. 40 об.). ‘Пути’, однако, удалось избежать конфискации книг, — по-видимому, указанным выше образом. Впоследствии (20 марта 1920 г.) нуждавшейся Морозовой пришлось обратиться в Госиздат с предложением о продаже ему книжных запасов ‘Пути’ (см.: ГАРФ, ф. 395, оп. 1, ед. хр. 88, л. 342). Госиздат в это время занимался скупками такого рода, — для дальнейшего распространения либо уничтожения

В результате названных событий московские частные издательства фактически перестали быть частными. ‘Путь’, хотя формально и не ликвидированный, получил нового хозяина, в его существовании абсолютно не заинтересованного. С этим хронологически совпало то, что особняк Морозовой в Мертвом переулке, где находились редакция, контора и склад издательства, в ноябре 1918 г. был также национализирован,<sup>95</sup> Религиозно-философское общество памяти В. С. Соловьева прекратило свою работу,<sup>96</sup> примерно в это же время, в связи с началом красного террора, Москву оставили Е. Н. Трубецкой и С. Н. Булгаков, — и все это дополнительно усугубило весьма сложное положение ‘Пути’.

Не имея более возможности самостоятельно выпускать литературу, руководители издательства решили помочь тем, у кого такая возможность сохранялась, — ‘Книгоиздательству М. и С. Сабашниковых’. Эта крупная и широко известная в России московская фирма продолжала после прихода к власти большевиков выпускать книги, однако испытывала при этом серьезные трудности. В частности, существовали значительные проблемы с бумагой. Весной 1919 г. руководитель издательства М. В. Сабашников обратился к Морозовой с просьбой уступить ему имеющуюся у ‘Пути’ бумагу, которая к этому времени хранилась на складе типографии Товарищества А. И. Мамонтова. Морозова дала согласие. Письменное разрешение ‘Пути’ на передачу бумаги<sup>97</sup> — последнее выявленное достоверное свидетельство о существовании этого издательства и весьма вероятно, что именно передачей своих бумажных запасов ‘Книгоиздательству М. и С. Сабашниковых’ в марте 1919 г. ‘Путь’ прекратил существование.

Формальное подтверждение исчезновения издательства последовало уже вскоре. Той же весной в Москве началась централизация российского

приобретенной литературы.

<sup>95</sup> См.: Постановление Исполнительного Комитета Московского Совета Р. и Кр. Д. ‘О муниципализации жилищ и земель в городе Москве’. — Постановления Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов по жилищному и земельному вопросам. Москва, 1918, с. 3; а также: Семенова Наталья. Четыре ‘эпохи’ одной жизни. — Наше наследие, 1991, № VI (24), с. 111; Думова Наталья. Московские меценаты. Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1992, с. 106. К этому времени, однако, в доме Морозовой уже разместилось советское учреждение — Отдел по делам музеев и охране памятников искусства и старины Наркомпроса, руководившийся Н. И. Седовой (Троцкой) и, кроме прочего, занимавшийся реквизицией частных художественных коллекций. См.: Троцкая Н. От Отдела по делам музеев и охране памятников искусства и старины Народного комиссариата по просвещению. — Известия Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета Советов Крестьянских, Рабочих, Солдатских и Казачьих Депутатов и Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов, 1918, 16 октября, № 225 (489), с. 4. Согласно Н. Семеновой, это учреждение занимало один этаж морозовского особняка.

<sup>96</sup> См.: Дурылин С. Н. В своем углу: Из старых тетрадей. [Москва]: Московский рабочий, 1991, с. 20.

<sup>97</sup> См.: РГБ РО, ф. 261, карт. 5, ед. хр. 103.

издательского дела: 20 мая 1919 г. декретом ВЦИК было учреждено Государственное издательство, которому, кроме прочего, поручалось руководство всеми остальными издательствами и контроль за ними.<sup>98</sup> Сразу после этого было установлено, что все московские частные издательства обязаны зарегистрироваться в отделе печати Московского Совета и получить специальное разрешительное удостоверение ('квитанцию'), дающее право заниматься издательской деятельностью.<sup>99</sup> Регистрация производилась избирательно, с учетом 'полезности' и 'направления' претендующих на регистрацию издательств.<sup>100</sup> В ноябре 1919 г. президиум Московского Совета принял постановление, определившее, что 'издательства, не получившие квитанций, будут считаться прекратившими существование'.<sup>101</sup> 'Путь' оказался среди последних: в официальном списке зарегистрированных издательств, представленном в Госиздат отделом печати Московского Совета (декабрь 1919 г.), он уже не значится.<sup>102</sup> Таким образом, к концу 1919 г. прекращение 'Пути' формально определилось.

Главные итоги почти десятилетней деятельности московского издательства 'Путь' — практическое формирование новой русской религиозной философии, определение идеологических основ отечественного христианско-либерального национализма, обширная и многообразная культурно-пропагандистская работа, выпуск более четырех десятков высококлассных изданий, явившихся безусловным и ценным вкладом в русскую и мировую культуру. Активным участником этой деятельности был П. А. Флоренский, и хотя различные внешние обстоятельства помешали ему реализовать имевшиеся значительные возможности в полной мере, его взаимодействие с издательством 'Путь' оказалось весьма плодотворным. Оно обогатило и издательство, и самого философа, и явились важным составляющим того мощного импульса, который получила русская культура в начале двадцатого века и который во многом определил пути ее дальнейшего развития.

<sup>98</sup> См.: Калинин М., Серебряков Л. Положения о Государственном издательстве. — Известия Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета Советов Рабочих, Крестьянских, Казачьих и Красноарм. Депутатов и Моск. Совета Рабоч. и Красноарм. Депутатов, 1919, 21 мая, № 108 (660), с. 3.

<sup>99</sup> См.: Постановления Президиума Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноарм. Депутатов 'О контроле над издательствами'. — Вечерние известия Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов, 1919, 24 мая, № 249, с. 4.

<sup>100</sup> См.: ЦГАМО, ф. 66, оп. 12, ед. хр. 452, л. 33 об., 69.

<sup>101</sup> Обязательное постановление Московского Совета Рабоч. и Красноарм. Депутатов 'О контроле над издательствами'. — Вечерние известия Московского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских Депутатов, 1919, 18 ноября, № 396, с. 4.

<sup>102</sup> См.: ГАРФ, ф. 395, оп. 1, ед. хр. 36, л. 313.

# Notes on Library Collections

## Two Early-Printed Primers at Olomouc

The Státní Vědecká Knihovna at Olomouc first came into being as the library of the Jesuit University founded in Olomouc in 1566. Of the original collections virtually nothing remained after the library was plundered by the Swedes in 1647 and most of its holdings removed to Sweden, but it was swiftly re-established. The library was secularized in 1773 as part of the reforms of the Emperor Joseph II, and during the next two decades it absorbed the holdings of a number of religious houses in Moravia that were dissolved as part of the same process. Since then despite many vicissitudes (the University was twice dissolved and re-founded, and the library itself was even transferred to Brno during the short period 1778–87) it has continued to grow, attaining its present name and constitution in 1961.<sup>1</sup>

Among the library's holdings are two seventeenth-century cyrillic primers, printed respectively at Vilno in 1637 and Kiev in 1686, which do not appear to have survived in any other copy and which have hitherto been almost entirely unknown to scholarship. The one printed at Kiev in 1686 was indeed examined by Dobrovský, who studied in the library during the years 1787–90,<sup>2</sup> and he gave a rough description of it in his letter of 24 September 1787 to V. F. Durych.<sup>3</sup> After this the two primers do not seem to have received any attention until 1982, when they formed part of an exhibition in Prague commemorating the quatercentenary of the death of Ivan Fedorov.<sup>4</sup> That two apparently unique cyrillic primers survive at Olomouc should not cause surprise: elementary textbooks by their very nature have a poor survival rate, and it is not unusual for them to be found only outside their country of origin, where they have curiosity value and are not subjected to rough handling by schoolboys.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This short historical outline is derived from *Státní Vědecká Knihovna v Olomouci, 1566–1966*, zpracoval Bohuslav Smejkal (Olomouc, 1966), pp. 3–18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Korrespondence Josefa Dobrovského*, díl I.: *Vzájemné dopisy Josefa Dobrovského a Fortunata Durycha z let 1778–1800*, k vydání upravil Adolf Patera, v Praze, 1895 (*Sbírka pramenů ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku*, skupina II., č. 2), p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Cyrilské tisky: výstava z fondů Státní knihovny ČSR pořádaná k 400. výročí úmrtí Ivana Fjodorova* [Prague], 1982. The Vilno primer is no. 38 and the Kiev one no. 53. As a result of this the Vilno primer at least was included in the relevant national bibliography, though still without a description: no. 124 in H. Ia. Halančenka, *Kniha Belarusi: 1517–1917: zvodny kataloh* (Minsk, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> Of the 37 East Slavonic primers which I listed in 1988 as being represented by extant copies (R. M. Cleminson, 'East Slavonic primers to 1700', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 2 (1988), pp. 1–27), 16 survive only outside their country of origin and 13, as far as I know, in only one copy. To this list should now be added not only the two books which are the subject of the present article, but also the primer printed at Trnava in 1699 (see R. M. Cleminson, 'Cyrillic

As to their contents and style of printing, the two primers at Olomouc closely resemble other primers printed at Vilno and Kiev in the seventeenth century. They begin with the alphabet, followed by syllables consisting of one or two consonants plus a vowel. Then comes a list of words traditionally written in abbreviated form, and in the Kiev primer only, a series of sentences (*propisi*) beginning with each letter of the alphabet in turn. The next section, which consists of prayers for morning and evening and various occasions during the day, displays only minor variations between the two, as these are more or less standard forms of private prayer which have been used in the Eastern Church from time immemorial to the present day. After this comes a series of texts which, though very frequently found in East Slavonic primers of this period, are actually derived from the catechetical traditions of Western Christendom. These consist of the Athanasian Creed and the Te Deum,<sup>6</sup> followed by a series of lists: Ten Commandments, Six Perfections, Nine Beatitudes, etc. In Western catechisms the catechist would ask, for example, 'How many commandments are there?', and the pupil would reply 'Ten', and go on to recite them. In the Eastern primers the questions are omitted, so we have no way of knowing whether these lists were used as part of a catechism or for some other purpose.<sup>7</sup> These are followed in the Kiev primer only by a set of ecclesiastical precepts (*prikazanja c<e>rkovnyi*) concerning Christian conduct, which are written in the Ukrainian vernacular, in contrast to the rest of the primers' contents, which are almost without exception in Church Slavonic. The Kiev primer concludes with the cyrillic numerals. The Vilno primer lacks several pages towards the end, so that its series of lists and prayers are incomplete, but it is quite likely that the present thirty-fourth leaf was originally the last one of the book.

Comparison of the contents of these two primers with those of others of the same period allows us to assign them their proper place within the tradition. The Vilno primer belongs to type 4 §2,<sup>8</sup> which contains besides this one, seven primers printed at Mohilev, Vilno and Kutein in the period 1636–53. The Kiev primer belongs to type 4 §3, which contains one other primer printed at Kiev (in 1664) and one printed at Vilno in 1698. The differences between the two types, which are distinctive though not great, consist chiefly in the ordering of the prayers and lists and the presence of the *prikazanja* in §3. While type 4 §2 clearly represents the type of primer usual in Belarus around the middle of the century, the significance of §3 is less clear. Does it represent a Kievan tradition, or a general development of the later seventeenth century? It is unlikely that the question will be answered unless extant copies of presently unknown

Printing at Trnava, c. 1680–1727', *Oxford Slavonic Papers n.s.* xvi (1993), pp. 40–54).

<sup>6</sup> The Te Deum is found only in the Vilno primer.

<sup>7</sup> Catechisms, both printed and manuscript, were produced in the East Slavonic lands during the seventeenth century, but these contain both questions and answers.

<sup>8</sup> For the classification see Cleminson, 'East Slavonic Primers' (note 5), pp. 22–25.

editions come to light.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the discovery of the two primers at Olomouc and their place within the scheme do tend to confirm the validity of the classification.

There follow descriptions of the two primers at Olomouc.

### 1. Olomouc, SVK, Tres. 63762

БУКВАРЬ | ІЗЫКА | СЛАВЕНЪСКА. | Писаній  
 ЧТЕНІЯ ОУЧИТИСА | ХОТАЦИМЪ. В' ПОЛЕЗНОЕ  
 РДКОВОЖЕНІЕ. | ТРДАОЛЮБІЕМ' | НОКО<sup>В</sup> | В' КОИНОВІЇ  
 ВИЛЕСКО<sup>М</sup> Православія Вастного, при храмѣ |  
 сошествїа Стаго Ах. | Альто є Воплощенїа  
 Бга Слова, ахъз.

Primer, Vilno 1637

8°:1<sup>8</sup>–4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>8</sup>. The signatures consist of the cyrillic *letters* А–Д to denote the gatherings with the cyrillic *numerals* в–д to mark the second to fourth rectos of the gathering. The title page is unsigned. Only three leaves now remain of the fifth gathering, the first signed Дг, the second unsigned and the last signed Д, which, since the last two are a conjugate pair, suggests that we have the third, eighth and first leaves of the gathering, in that order. The book thus has 35 extant pages, with no pagination or foliation.

Leaf size 145mm×85mm. 14 ll., 122mm×77mm, 10 ll.=82mm.

Inscription inside front cover: Conv<sup>s</sup> olomucensis ad S. Jacobū.

Inscription on rear flyleaf: Anno Dñi 1386 Jagello Bapti/satus Cracoviae et Vladislaus / appellatus est, sequenti Anno / 1387 Gentem Litwanicum / ab idolatria reuocavit.

The first inscription indicates that the book formerly belonged to the Minorite Friary at Olomouc, the library of which was absorbed by the University Library after it was dissolved in 1784.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In general, the various types do correspond to regional traditions. From this point of view, it is the Vilno 1698 primer that seems anomalous; however, although it is definitely closest to the two Kievan printings, it also has minor features which suggest a connection with the sole representative of type 2, a primer printed at Vilno during the years 1593–1601. (For the place and date of printing of this last, see J. D. A. Barnicot and J. S. G. Simmons, 'Some Unrecorded Early-Printed Slavonic Books in English Libraries', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* ii (1951), pp. 189–94, no. 6.)

<sup>10</sup> Smejkal (note 1), p. 7.

## 2. Olomouc, SVK, Tres. 21675

БУК ВАРЬ | ІЗЫКА СЛАВЕСКА, | ПИСАНІЙ  
 ЧТЕНІЯ | ОУЧИТИСА ХОТАЩИМЪ | ВЪ ПОЛЕЗНОЕ  
 РДКОВОЖЕНІЕ. | ВЪ СТОЙ ВЕЛИКОИ | ЧУДОВОРНОЙ  
 ЛАРЬ | КІЕВО-ПЕЧЕРСКОЙ | ИЗДАДЕСА, | РОКЪ ѿ  
 РОЖ: ХВА. ФДХПС. | МЧД АПРІЛА.

Primer, Kiev 1686

[Within a border composed of pictures of the Dormition, St James, St Peter and the Lavra with St Theodosius and St Anthony:]

8°: 1<sup>8</sup>–5<sup>8</sup>. The signatures consist of the cyrillic *letters* А–Д to denote the gatherings with the cyrillic *numerals* в–е to mark the second to fifth rectos of the gathering (omitting 1<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>4</sub> and 4<sub>5</sub>). There is no pagination or foliation.

Leaf size 145mm×90mm. The number of lines per page varies, as two different founts are used and may be mixed in varying proportions on a page. A page set entirely in the larger fount has 14 ll., 10 ll.=82mm; a page set in the smaller fount has 18 ll., 10 ll.=63mm.

The book has been bound with a large number of blank leaves (more than doubling its thickness) in a rather handsome white leather binding, lettered on the spine ‘Alpha/betum / Mosco/viticum [!!] / Y.V/N.21’.

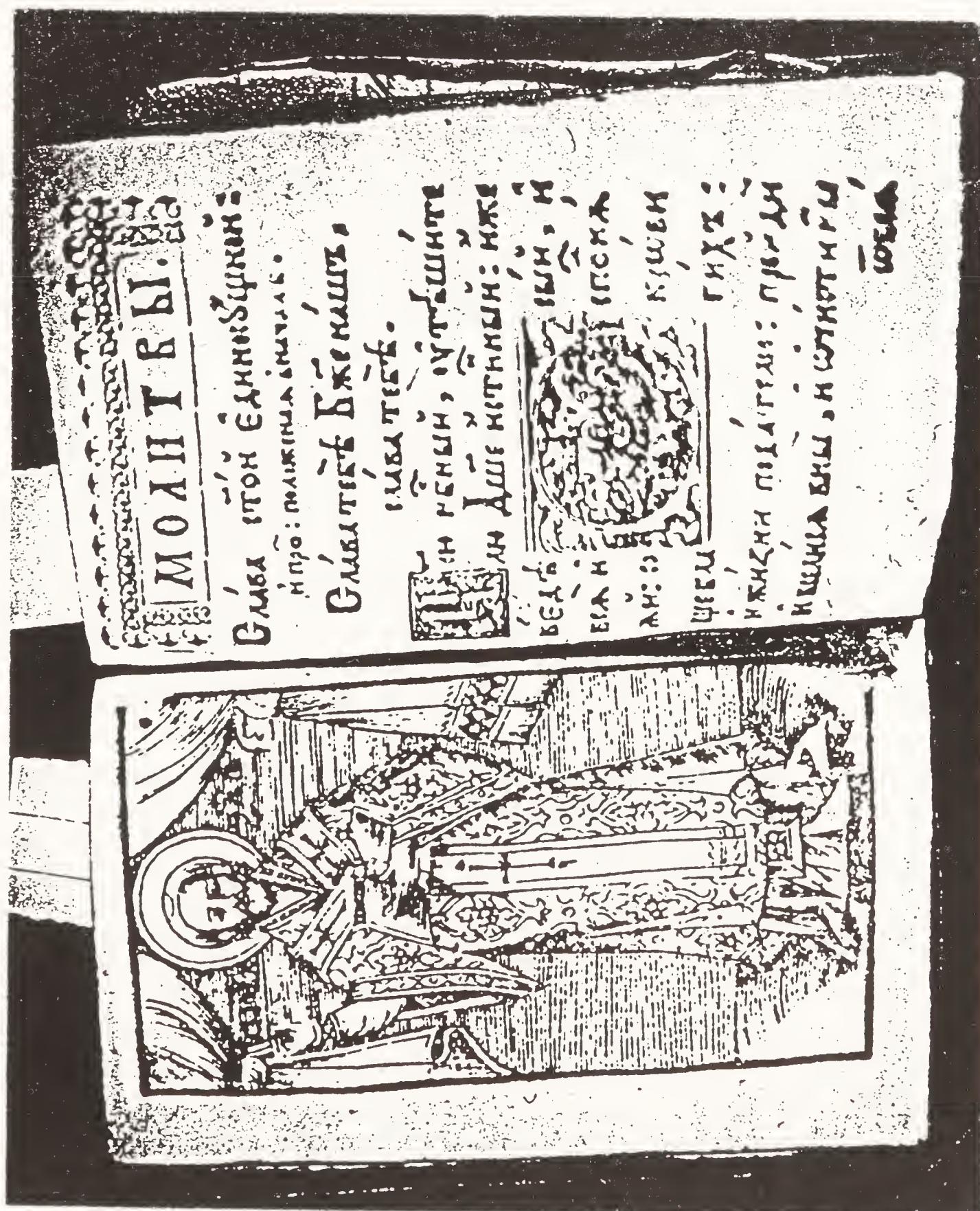
Inscription on the title page: Colegii Soc: Jesu / Olomucii.

Inscription on the first of the blank pages at the back: Auf diesem / Büchlein lernte die / russische Sprach / Joh: Alois Hanke / erster Custos / auf diesen Biblio[thek] / im Jahre 1780.

J. A. Hanke (1751–1806) was librarian 1777–91. Even for a man of his talents and energy, to have learnt Russian from this book would have been an amazing achievement.

R. M. CLEMINSON

*University of Portsmouth*



Primer, Vilno 1637



## Review Articles

### Other Voices:

#### The Bibliography of Independent Periodicals in the USSR and CIS, 1987 to the Present

The printed word can play a powerful role in the development of society. Perhaps nowhere has concern about the printed word and its potential influence been greater than in the USSR. From the early days of 1917 those vying for power realized its importance in the development and outcome of the Revolution. Harnessing the press, then, became an absolutely essential step. This came to mean the total subjugation of the press to the interests of the State. Henceforth the energy of the printed word would be utilized to meet the political agenda of the Soviet system.

The Soviet press grew dramatically during the decades following the Revolution. One aspect of this growth was the birth and development of the Soviet bibliographic system. By the 1930s, guides like *Letopis' zhurnal'nykh statei* and *Letopis' gazetnykh statei* provided ongoing content coverage of the main All-Union periodicals and serials. This effort was duplicated on the Republic level and below, resulting in an enormous amount of bibliographic data on an ever-growing number of periodical titles. By the decade's end, control, uniformity and reliability came to symbolize the Soviet bibliographic system.

The political events of the 1950s had a dramatic effect on Soviet publications. The Khrushchev thaw resulted in discussion of many formerly forbidden topics. The Soviet press was the primary vehicle for this discussion and as such drew a considerable amount of public attention. Unfortunately, this relative freedom came to an abrupt end with the rise to power of Leonid Brezhnev in 1964. Rigid adherence to traditional ideology was once again to be the hallmark of the Soviet press. For many within the Soviet Union this return to orthodoxy was intolerable. A tiny minority decided to act. They began to publish clandestinely and circulate a wide variety of materials in an attempt to continue the debate on important questions of Soviet life. Their work, known as samizdat, gained readers both in the USSR and the West. Despite vigorous attempts to destroy this new unauthorized medium, the authorities' measures only helped to fuel samizdat activities. Free expression, albeit in a highly restricted form, had returned to the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, given the political environment of the 1970s and early 1980s, samizdat could not meet the growing needs of Soviet society for accurate information and free discussion. As the contradictions between ideology and reality became increasingly acute, it was clear that major changes would have to occur. Political considerations would delay such change until March 1985.

Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Soviet Union by means of glasnost and perestroika had profound effects on Soviet publishing. As time went on the official press found itself increasingly able to discuss a variety of sensitive historical and contemporary problems. Gorbachev's policies also triggered support for an unofficial press, independent of State control. By 1987 individuals and groups, drawing in part on samizdat traditions, began issuing publications of all sorts on political, social, economic, religious and other themes. What began as a trickle quickly became a torrent. Hundreds of unofficial publications of all types started to appear throughout the Soviet Union. By the late 1980s, the independent press had viable public support and was viewed as an alternative to the official press. Attempts by the authorities to stem this ever-growing tide were ineffective. Ultimately, owing to its popularity and influence, officials were obliged to recognize the existence of the independent press with the Press Law of August 1990. After over seventy years of control, the free press in the Soviet Union had legally re-emerged.

Given decades of State monopoly on information, the birth and rapid growth of the independent press was a startling development. Amidst the amazement came an important consideration—bibliographic control. Falling as it did outside official bibliographic channels, the independent press had no central bibliographic apparatus. Publications were appearing and disappearing without being recorded. A great deal of important information would be lost without a concerted effort at collecting and recording this material. While several limited initiatives were undertaken in the Soviet Union, it was Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty that first stepped in a major way to deal with the situation. Having created an enormous archive of samizdat material, it was logical for them to record the output of the independent press. However, it was clear that such a project was beyond the means of any one organization. Only multiple participants could hope to create a viable bibliographic record.

1990 marked the start of an important phase in the bibliography of these independent publications. Two major projects, one Russian, one American, greatly augmented the work carried out by Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty. The first was the appearance of Aleksandr Suetnov's *Spravochnik periodicheskogo samizdata* (Moscow: 'Iz Glubin', 1990). Inspired in part by Suetnov's remarks in *Sovetskaia bibliografia* in 1989, it listed some 750 independent press titles and provided important bibliographical and historical details. Coming as it did from within the USSR, it had a distinct advantage over Western sources. The second major effort came from the Library of Congress. In February 1990 it began its Moscow Acquisitions Project aimed at onsite collection of independent press items. The first fruit of this project appeared in May 1991 with the publication of *New Soviet and Baltic Independent Serials at the Library of Congress*, Eric A. Johnson and Michael E. Neubert (comps.), Harold Leich (ed.) (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991). Covering some 1430 titles, the

guide included not only bibliographic data on each item, but also language, republic, city, and issuing body indexes. These two publications made very valuable contributions to the overall bibliographic picture.

Bibliographic efforts continued in 1992, despite the confusion inherent in the collapse of the Soviet Union and the birth of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Aleksandr Suetnov continued to build on his earlier work in his two-volume *Samizdat: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (Moscow: Tsentr obrazovatel'nykh programm Instituta novykh tekhnologii obrazovaniia, 1992). Focusing on the period 1985–1991, the guide offered data on nearly 1600 titles. Unlike the Library of Congress volume, Suetnov listed his titles alphabetically according to subject. The extensive series of indexes (city, title, organization, personal name) appeared in the second volume. Photographs and statistical data, along with extensive comments for some items, were also included. Another important volume appearing in 1992 was Elena Schemkova's *Novaia periodika i samizdat na territorii Sovetskogo Soiuza 1987–1991: katalog kollektsi* (Bremen: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, 1992). Drawn from the University's collection, this work covers some 1331 items. Bibliographic data (place/date of publication, issuing body, editors, holdings) are included. While lacking a personal name index, the guide does have very useful subject and geographic indexes.

The latest guide to the independent press is Berend Wispelwey's *Katalog russkoiazychnykh periodicheskikh izdanii, nakhodkashchikhsia v sobraniiaakh ne-formal'noi i mestnoi pechati issledovatel'skogo instituta RSE/RS 1984–1993* (Munich: RFE/RL Research Institute, 1994). The work updates and expands earlier RFE/RL guides. It deals with 2604 titles published throughout the USSR and CIS, and provides the usual bibliographic data. Geographic and name indexes round out the text. Unlike other guides described above, Wispelwey's work limits itself to Russian-language publications. Also, given its inclusion of regional publications, the guide covers some official Soviet publications. Thus it overlaps to some degree with the Knizhnaia Palata's *Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaiushchikhsia izdanii*.

Given the chaotic bibliographic picture of the USSR and CIS, the appearance of these guides is a remarkable accomplishment. Naturally, there is a significant degree of overlapping coverage among them. Also, despite their broad collecting scope, geographical and logistical problems mean that Russian-language publications by and large gain the most coverage in these volumes. Yet at this point it is impossible to rank one of these works above the others, as our knowledge of the topic is still far from complete. What is clear is the enormous amount of talent and energy that went into the creation of these guides. They offer us valuable insight into a still unfolding story, and we should warmly applaud these pioneering works.

Now, as the seeds sown at the 1991 Oxford conference (reported in *Solanus*,

vol. 6, 1992) and its follow-up in Moscow in 1992 (reported in *Solanus*, vol. 7, 1993) begin to bear fruit, there is a real prospect of creating a near-to-comprehensive database of titles for the period May 1987 through 1991. The RFE/RL Research Institute, which, with Signals Trust, was one of the main sponsors of the Oxford conference, has again taken the initiative: it plans to merge the records of 2700 titles held in Russian archives, which have been put onto disk (using Pro-Cite) by the Russian Association of Collectors and Researchers of the New Press, with its own considerable holdings. Furthermore, it aims to add notes of the holdings of as many libraries in the West as possible. This exciting development will build on and consolidate the pioneering bibliographical efforts of East and West.

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## Bibliography of the Polish ‘Second Circulation’

*Unabhängige Periodika aus Polen 1976–1990: Bestandskatalog*, zusammengestellt und bearbeitet von Angela Murche-Kikut, 2 überarb. und erw. Aufl. Bremen: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, 1992. (Dokumentationsreihe der Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen; Katalog 2.)

SZCZEPAN RUDKA, *Wrocławskie pisma bezdebitowe 1973–89: bibliografia*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1992.

WOJCIECH CHOJNACKI I MAREK JASTRZĘBSKI, *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce: 1 I 1986–31 XII 1987*. Warszawa: Éditions Spotkania, [1993].

The task of documenting the enormous and wide-ranging output of the Polish ‘drugi obieg’, the ‘second circulation’ of independent or underground publishing, which played so vital a role in the opposition movement in the late 1970s and 1980s is now under way in institutions across Poland and abroad. A number of bibliographies have already been published, ranging from those which cover a particular town or region, such as *Bibliografia łódzkich wydawnictw niezależnych 1976–89* (Łódź: Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Marszałka Piłsudskiego, 1992) and J. Pracka and B. Zgryzek, *Wydawnictwa niezależne 1976–1989 w zbiorach Biblioteki Śląskiej* (Katowice: Biblioteka Śląska, 1994), to those with a subject approach, such as J. Czachowska and B. Dorosz, *Literatura i krytyka poza cenzurą 1977–1989*, and K. Łabędź, *Wydawnictwa historyczne drugiego obiegu w Polsce: materiały do bibliografii adnotowanej za lata 1980–1987* (Warszawa: COM SNP UW, 1989).

The three works reviewed here represent quite different points in the spectrum of documentation of Polish underground publishing. Murche-Kikut has compiled the most comprehensive published catalogue to date of holdings of Polish underground periodicals in a Western institution, whilst Rudka has attempted to provide an exhaustive study of the output of underground periodicals in one town, Wrocław. Finally, Chojnacki and Jastrzębski’s bibliography, which covers both periodicals and books, is the second volume of the fullest survey so far published of post-1981 underground publishing.

The new, revised and expanded edition of Angela Murche-Kikut’s catalogue of the holdings of Polish underground periodicals of the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa at the University of Bremen enlarges considerably on the first edition published in 1990 and covering the dates 1976–89. It includes 1820 titles published between 1976 and 1990 throughout Poland, usefully indexed by broad subject area (e.g. Church, Youth, Politics, Organization) and place of publication (by town and appropriate Solidarność regional organization). Some

illustrations of title-pages are also included. It is a pity that the introduction which outlines the background history of underground periodical publishing and the methodology employed in compiling the catalogue is not given also in Polish translation. However, the large number of titles covered, notes on changes to titles, sub-titles and continuations and the spelling out of abbreviations in statements of responsibility mean that the catalogue is likely to be useful for other bibliographers in identifying and describing their own collections.

Szczepan Rudka's doctoral thesis, now published by the University of Wrocław, attempts to present an exhaustive picture of underground periodical publishing in one town, Wrocław, which according to current research appears to be second only to Warsaw and ahead of Cracow in terms of underground periodical output in this period. Rudka's bibliography of 468 titles, gathered from libraries including Wrocław University Library and the Ossolineum Library and over 100 private collections, has an informative introduction published in Polish and English. Here Rudka explains his title: until 31 December 1989 any person or institution wishing to publish and distribute a periodical had to apply for a licence, or 'debit', from the censors, otherwise known as the Chief Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainments (GUKPPiW). 'Thus, papers published without permission of the censors, by persons and organizations which either opposed the authorities of that time, or functioned independently of them and had no direct relations with them, were often called "non-debit" publications' (p. 9). He estimates that, despite intensive research, he covers perhaps only 60–70% of the total material published.

The bibliography is notable for a number of reasons. Firstly, Rudka raises the question of when underground publishing in the post-Stalin era actually began. Generally speaking, 1976 is accepted as the year in which clandestine periodical publishing began on a significant scale, when KOR (the Committee for Defence of the Workers) began to circulate typed copies of its *Bulletyn Informacyjny* before graduating to a duplicating machine, and NOWa published the first duplicated issues of *U Progu*. However, Rudka's earliest item dates from 1973: the *Organ Studia Kompozycji Emocjonalnej* was the first Wrocław uncensored paper he discovered during his research. His suggestion that underground publications probably appeared during other earlier periods of opposition to Communist rule, in 1956 and 1968 for example, is substantiated by Leszek Szaruga in his review of the bibliography in *Kultura*, nos. 1–2, 1994, pp. 200–201. Szaruga cites a number of underground publications from the 1960s and early 1970s, ranging from the case of the *Czerwony Sztandar*, cited at the trial of members of Kazimierz Mijał's Maoist KPP as their illegal mouthpiece (for further information see 'Władysław Gomulka na aktywie partyjnym Huty Warszawy', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, z. 22, 1972, pp. 102–118), to literary works such as Krzysztof Mrożowski's *Text* published in 1969. The

extent of underground publishing activity before 1976, be it concerned with producing simple leaflets, typescripts for circulation amongst a circumscribed group or perhaps activity on a grander scale, is clearly a field which merits further systematic investigation. Some articles on post-1976 publishing activities have, in their introductions, commented on the earlier period. These include Z. Jagodziński, 'Wydawnictwa niezależne w Polsce', *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej*, T. 3: *Bieżące zagadnienia krajowe*, pod red. Jana Drewnowskiego (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 1986), pp. 196–200, and M. Jastrzębski, 'Les éditions clandestines en Pologne', *Papierowa rewolucja: les éditions clandestines en Pologne communiste*, textes reunis par Claudio Fedrigo et Jacek Sygnarski (Fribourg: Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, 1992).

Secondly, Rudka includes a fascinating annexe of falsifications, publications counterfeited by the Wrocław Security Police usually to ridicule the opposition and its organisers, and reprints of publications from other towns. The third notable factor—and fundamentally the most important—is the attention to detail in research and description. Not only did Rudka study the material itself but he also gathered information directly from those involved in its production: printers, distributors and editors. Thus his entries contain much detail, including title, sub-title, motto, date of first and last numbers, frequency, editorial staff, publisher, printer, size, pagination, printing technique, illustrative material, print-run, price, and notes on mistakes in numbering, unnumbered issues, etc. As well as an index to subjects and underground organizations he includes an index of persons involved in producing underground periodicals in Wrocław which runs to over 600 names and pseudonyms. At the end of the bibliography there are illustrations of the title pages of a selection of the periodicals covered which, whilst not of the best quality, give a feel for the range of material.

Lastly, 1993 saw the long-awaited appearance of the second volume of the *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce*, covering the years 1986–1987 and compiled by Wojciech Chojnacki and Marek Jastrzębski. This is a welcome supplement to the first volume, *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce: 13 XII 1981–VI 1986* (Paryż: Éditions Spotkania, 1988), published under the pseudonym Józefa Kamińska (i.e. Władysław Chojnacki and Wojciech Chojnacki).

This bibliography contains entries for both periodicals, and books and pamphlets, and represents a continuation of the most comprehensive attempt at documenting the output of post-1981 Polish underground publishers so far. The first volume contained 3725 entries, of which 1454 were for periodicals. The second volume lists 628 publications published from 1986 to 1987, including 41 new periodical titles. Therefore, if a reader needs to trace the full history of a title published between 1982 and 1987, it is necessary to start in the second volume and follow up the reference to the first volume. As all entries

are numbered and cross-referenced this does not however prove too onerous a task. Both volumes include useful indexes by personal name, name of printer or publisher and place of publication. They also include lists of publishers' series.

An informative introduction not only describes the methodology used and problems encountered by the bibliographers in the course of their work, but also analyses trends in underground publishing during the period covered and includes illustrative graphs and tables. This is summarized in both English and German, and in the first volume in French also. For example, the second volume shows how, in 1986–7, while the bulk of periodicals still dealt with organizational matters in the Solidarity movement, there was a growing number of titles concerned with ecology and pacifism. As far as books are concerned, in 1986–7 the most popular theme was relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, the most frequently published writer, Józef Mackiewicz. Warsaw continued to dominate as the centre of underground publishing, producing more than 50% of all titles included, with Wrocław in second and Cracow in third place. Reprints of emigré publications remained an important element in underground publishing, accounting in 1986–7 for one-third of all books published.

The items examined or noted in this review represent only a small sample of the many projects under way to document this fundamental element of the Polish opposition's struggle against the Communist authorities. The Bibliographical Institute at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw plans to publish, probably in 1995, a bibliography of underground books, and the data so far accumulated for the years 1976–1989 is currently available on disk. The Institute has called for a cooperative approach to the task of producing a definitive bibliography of clandestine publications based on an exchange of bibliographic records between interested institutions. Let us hope that future developments may encompass an internationally accessible and fully comprehensive database of the achievements of the 'drugi obieg'.

JANET ZMROCZEK

*British Library*



## Reviews

*Knizhnoe delo: professional'nyi informatsionno-analiticheskii zhurnal.* Moskva, A/O Progress, 1992–. ISSN 0869–6039. Podpisnyi indeks 70339. Irregular to date. Issues to hand: 1992/1–2, 1993/1–4 and *Ezhegodnik-93*. Editorial address: Zubovskii bul. 17, 119847 Moskva. Fax: (095) 2302403.

*Knizhnoe delo* is probably the most substantial and informative professional journal for the Russian publishing and bookselling trades to have appeared since the October Revolution. It is not an academic *sbornik* like *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, nor a newspaper-cum-booklist like *Knizhnoe obozrenie*. It perhaps compares most closely with the now defunct *V mire knig* in that journal's later years (say 1986–89) in its attractive, well-illustrated layout and in its readiness to address important issues in the Russian book world, but its factual and reference element is considerably larger. The editorial board announces in the first issue that *Knizhnoe delo* is intended not only for publishers and booksellers, but for book designers, librarians, bibliographers, and all those interested in the book in Russia and abroad. While it is true that all issues carry some content with this broader appeal, the journal seems to be intended primarily for the publishing and book-trade professional in Russia itself.

It may be too early in the title's history to speak of a 'typical issue', but two lines of editorial policy are clearly apparent. Firstly, there is a strong emphasis on articles which distil practical experience and which alert the practitioner to new developments in Russian publishing and bookselling. Facts, figures and assessments on the state of the market are prominent, as are reports from individual publishers. Advice is offered to those setting up their own publishing undertakings, and also on book design and editorial work. Other topical subjects include new legislation, piracy, paper supplies and copyright matters. Less frequent are pieces on bibliography, library affairs and the history of the book, and there is some reporting of the Western publishing and bookselling scene. Articles are rarely more than four pages long. The editors seem quite ready to publish attacks on government policy (for example, against the new draft law on legal deposit in 1993/1), but the general tone is professional rather than polemical.

Secondly, the editors evidently take seriously the journal's role as a reference source. Every issue so far has carried extensive directory listings, again aimed primarily at the Russian publisher and bookseller. They begin with 'Knizhnyi mir Rossii' in two parts (1992/1–2), giving the names and addresses of a wide selection of publishing, printing and bookselling organizations. Issues 1993/2–4, more ambitiously, set out to list all the registered publishers in Russia: 4173 of them, with future supplements promised. A useful feature for Western

specialists, in most issues from 1993/1 onwards, is a bibliography by L. I. Fursenko of recent Russian books and pamphlets in *knigovedenie*. Most issues include reviews of Russian and foreign publications, including (in 1993/4, pp. 109–110) one of *Solanus*.

The 1993 *Ezhegodnik* is slightly different in character from the issues in the main sequence, though not much larger (216 pages). It offers a smaller number of longer articles, with a noticeably stronger emphasis on historical bibliography. The lead article, indeed, is E. L. Nemirovskii's 'Slavianskie staropechatnye knigi kirillovskogo shrifta v knigokhranilishchakh Velikobritanii' (pp. 6–18, 110 references). Its main reference feature is a 100-page list of non-Russian firms represented at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Indicators of the journal's future are, unfortunately, rather mixed. The number of pages per issue has risen from 96 to 152, but publication so far has been somewhat irregular; and the *tirazh*, after rising encouragingly from 6000 for the first three issues to 10,000 for the next two and for the *Ezhegodnik*, has fallen back to 5000 with 1993/4. It is very much to be hoped that any difficulties will be overcome, and that *Knizhnoe delo* will continue to find a sufficient readership in Russia and abroad.

GREGORY WALKER

Bodleian Library, Oxford

J. Brine, compiler, *COMECON: The Rise and Fall of an International Socialist Organization*. Oxford, Clio Press, 1992. xxxiii + 225 pp. Maps. Indexes. (International Organizations Series, vol. 3.)

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, but better known as COMECON) became an inevitable institutional casualty following the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe. The idea of 'socialist economic integration' could not withstand the dynamic and disintegrating effects of released political and economic nationalism, or the seeming potential bounty of freer and wider markets. The reality of COMECON's demise was recognized with its formal dissolution in June 1991, so giving this economic body a life of some forty-two years.

Insiders and outsiders have described, and attempted to assess, the influence of COMECON upon the extent, type and patterns of trade within the Soviet Bloc (including Mongolia, Cuba and Vietnam). Such efforts to gain economic understanding are certain to be pursued with even greater enthusiasm now that circumstances make it possible to draw up a balance sheet according to more objective criteria than in the past.

For those engaged in such an enterprise, and also for those simply looking for guidance on what best to read about COMECON, this bibliography

should prove a most helpful aid. Over 700 English-language items (including a number of translations) are listed. This is a valuable service in itself, but the compiler has considerably enhanced the utility of the work with the provision of descriptive and critical annotations of a high standard which should greatly assist in the selection of relevant material. The items described are grouped by broad topic—Joint Planning, Industrial Specialization and Cooperation, COMECON and the World, etc.—and chronologically within these sections, an excellent arrangement that displays the development of opinions, attitudes and decisions over time. The indexing is to be commended also. Too often, these days, publishers engage in false economies over indexing. In this case there are adequate separate author, title and subject indexes.

Apart from its declared functional purpose, the annotations allow the work to be read as a commentary on the obtuseness and short-sightedness of so many authors toiling within the enmeshing assumptions of a body almost totally divorced from the economic realities it was intended to control, if not reflect. Bibliographies should not be judged on such a basis, but that this bonus is there for the reading is an indication of the quality of the compilation.

In all this is a timely, interesting and useful work of reference, put together by someone with an extensive knowledge of the field.

TANIA KONN

*University of Glasgow*

Anatoly Kalashnikov, *500 Exlibris*. Prefaces by W. E. Butler and G. I. Navtikov. Designed by G. A. Eremeev. Moscow: Evrika, 1993. 574 pp. 500 illustrations. Index. £14.00.

Великолепно оформленная художником Г.А. Еремеевым, начиная с нарядной и одновременно строгой суперобложки, и кончая архитектоникой, эта книга — одна из очень немногих в ряду посвященных экслибрису изданий и в России, и в Европе. Ее исключительность определяется не только объемом, но и особенностями, даже парадоксами, ‘внутреннего’ и ‘внешнего’ характера.

Сам дизайн, продиктованный целью этого издания — предъявить любителям графики, коллекционерам, библиофилам и искусствоведам часть, может быть наиболее представительную, из огромного числа выполненных художником книжных знаков, — нетрадиционен. Несмотря на то, что, подобно другим книгам, и эта тоже разбита на главы, каждая ее глава является собой подбор экслибрисов, но не по годам их исполнения, а по сотням, т.е. по составляющим их опусам; хронологическая же последовательность соблюдается внутри сотен. Таких глав девять. В первую вошли книжные знаки сотни, создававшейся с 1964 по 1967 год;

последняя охватывает лишь 13 экслибрисов девятой сотни, нарезанных в 1991—1992 годах. Книжные знаки, выполненные в 1993 году, по технологическим причинам сюда не вошли: книга подписана в печать 26 января 1993 года.

Текстового материала, кроме вступительных статей (на английском, итальянском, немецком и русском языках) и алфавитного указателя владельцев экслибриса в конце издания, нет. Это тоже из числа его парадоксов или особенностей, определяющих в данном случае один из подходов к книжному знаку: не от владельца, не от собрания, когда экслибрис — лишь охранная грамота, функция книги, и неважно, кто его создавал, а прямо к искусству книжного знака и только к нему. Поскольку автор — художник, такой подход вполне объясним. И еще одна особенность книги. Ее автор — Анатолий Иванович Калашников — не обмолвился в ней ни единым словом. Он предпочел только показать свое искусство, и этим сказал все.

Отобрать 500 экслибрисов из наработанных за долгие годы 900 оказалось весьма не просто. Тем не менее, следует отметить, что эти 500 графических миниатюр дают достаточно полное представление об Анатолии Ивановиче Калашникове как о самобытном, выдающемся художнике-экслибрисисте. Вызывает изумление его фантастическая работоспособность и беспримерное трудолюбие: ведь он сделал не только 900 (!) экслибрисов, но и серии станковых гравюр ('Золотое кольцо России', цикл 'Волга — русская река', по произведению Л.Н. Толстого 'Война и мир', романам Ф.М. Достоевского и многое др.), открытки, почтовые марки, конверты...

Творчество Заслуженного художника России А.И. Калашникова получило высочайшее признание в мире. Алфавитный указатель владельцев экслибриса свидетельствует о том, что по сравнению с отечественными несоизмеримо большая часть этих счастливых владельцев — представители разных стран мира, считающих, в свою очередь, за честь получить графическую миниатюру работы столь известного русского мастера.

Конечно, как почти в каждом современном издании, и в этом можно найти отдельные огрехи, но стоит ли сосредоточиваться на них, когда в целом оно заслуживает самой высокой оценки. Единственно, о чем можно сожалеть, — это о ничтожности тиража: всего 3000 экземпляров. Обидно, что такая нужная и красавая книга, лишь только выйдя в свет, не сделает ни шагу к покупателю. Автор разослал в подарок часть тиража друзьям в России и за границей, получат ее и музеи, в том числе зарубежные, и некоторые библиотеки; обладателями ее, вероятно, станут участники очередного XXVI конгресса ФИСАЕ, который по решению Международного комитета этой организации должен состояться в 1996 году в Москве. Но книжных прилавков она не осчастливит, ибо

для продажи не предназначена. И тем не менее, я поздравляю автора книги и всех трудившихся над ее изданием с выходом этого прекрасного раритета.

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Московского клуба экслибрисистов*

Copies of the book may be obtained from: The Primrose Academy, 20 Ainger Road, London NW3 3AS, UK.

Boris Korsch, *Religion in the Soviet Union: A Bibliography, 1980–1989*. New York and London, Garland Publishing Inc., 1992. 639 pp. \$100.00.

The 1980s witnessed historic changes in the place of religion in Soviet society. Boris Korsch's bibliography is focused on Soviet published works about religion and atheism and draws heavily on the Soviet bibliographical apparatus, notably *Knizhnaia letopis'*, *Letopis' zhurnal'nykh statei*, *Avtoreferaty dissertatsii* and *Letopis' retsenzii*. It contains a total of 5858 single entry references, the overwhelming majority of which are arranged in one author-alphabetical sequence under the heading 'Soviet publications on religion and atheism'. All the entries have been romanized and an English translation of every title has been supplied. A subject index (pp. 613–639) with over 500 subject headings from Abelard to Zoroastrianism provides the key to an otherwise unwieldy mass of data.

Korsch's preface, written in the first half of 1991, describes religion as 'a permanent problem of the Soviet regime', and the hope is expressed that the bibliography will be of use to all concerned with the CPSU and Soviet government ideology, attitudes and policies towards religion. It is likely that the number of 'theologians, journalists and other public and political figures' for whom these are vital issues has decreased considerably since the collapse of the CPSU and the break-up of the Soviet Union, but for historical work and for attaining a proper understanding of mentalities in Russia and the successor states today this bibliography can be highly recommended.

In a valuable but brief introduction of thirteen pages Korsch surveys the literature, drawing attention to significant publications which demonstrate 'the unity and homogeneity of party-government inspired attitudes' up to 1987. Ideological continuity is also evident after 1987 in the authoritative unsigned article in *Kommunist*, 4 (1988), 'Sotsializm i religiia', which is based on the Leninist precept that *appropriate* means should be used in the anti-religious struggle. In this context special mention is made of the seminars on the role of

libraries in atheistic education which were held in Odessa and Samarkand in 1988 and reported in the library journal *Bibliotekar'*.

The sections of the bibliography listing 'censored religious publications' and 'uncensored religious publications' are modest—79 and 18 references respectively—but their inclusion gives some grounds for the compiler's claim to comprehensiveness. However, with the exception of *Nadezhda*, a samizdat anthology of Russian spirituality edited by Zoia Krakhmal'nikova, all the uncensored religious publications listed are new periodical publications appearing in or after 1987. Serious research on religion and society in the late Soviet period will need to include work on religious samizdat sources and the contents of recently opened Soviet archives in addition to the literature listed in this volume, but specialists will be grateful for a well produced bibliography which stands as a monument to the final stages in the operation of the Soviet atheist machine.

MALCOLM WALKER

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Anthony Cross, *Anglo-Russica: Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Oxford and Providence, Berg, 1993. x + 269 pp. Index. £32.00.

The vastness and absorbing fascination of Anglo-Russian relations during this fast-moving time is the environment in which Professor Cross has achieved his expertise, and this selection of essays represents the scope of his work in the field over the last thirty years. From a listing at the end of the book of ninety-seven items by his hand, he has chosen fourteen pieces to work as windows, as it were, each one to illustrate how the one culture found itself implicated with the other.

Immediately striking is a characteristically generous purchase on sources, primary and secondary. All fiction in the period, being an emergent phenomenon, points straight to the context of its emergence, here capitulated in the histories, biographies, travel accounts, journals and newspapers consulted by the author. Some pieces look discursively and broadly along the panoramic interface: an article on 'British awareness' of the other culture is counterbalanced by an examination of 'Russian perceptions' of England, and Russia. Travellers in Russia (notably the ubiquitously cited William Coxe, author of *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark* (1784)) are seen to be participants in the same cross-cultural performance as translators, memoirists, Russian students of technology and handicrafts in England and Scotland, ambassadors, governesses. Articles are devoted to contemporary and retrospective illustrations

of the Russian stage, 'Early English Specimens of the Russian Poets', 'English Bards and Russian Tsars', British attitudes to the journalist and fabulist Ivan Krylov, to provide only literary or artistic examples. Consistently these articles focus not only upon the works, the documentary artefacts which are examined, but also upon the actual human experiences undergone by all these witting or unwitting cultural pioneers, their emotional consciousness of what it was like in Russia. No mere anecdotalism, this constitutes a large psychological reconstruction. It is the personally felt reaction of the philanthropic travellers John Howard and William Coxe to the condition of Russian prisons (unexpectedly humanitarian, by and large) which is shown to place them, through a connection with Catherine II, into history. Similarly, whether it is a matter of that empress's first female biographers, or 'early English acquaintance with Russian popular song and music', the vague ambience of cultural climate is always usefully illuminated from within by the acutely personal response (in the latter case, for instance, the response of Princess Dashkova's Irish guests, the sisters Martha and Katherine Wilmot). Alongside history as the spotlighting of neglected corners ('George Borrow and Russia', 'The Testament of a Forgotten "Wife"') one will also naturally be reminded of its function as the concerted practice of serious and meticulous research.

N. J. CROWE

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*The Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania*, compiled by Inese A. Smith and Marita V. Grunts. World Bibliographical Series, 161. Oxford, etc., Clio Press, 1993. lxxvii, 199 pp. Chronology. Map. Indexes. £39.50. ISBN 1-85109-196-3.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have emerged from captivity in the Soviet Union to the freedom of the World Bibliographical Series. Unfortunately, their freedom is not absolute: they have not been accorded individual volumes in the series but have been grouped together as the Baltic states. There are good historical reasons for this approach—capably rehearsed in the book's introduction by Andrejs Plakans—and many publications deal with all three countries together. Nevertheless, one wonders why the series permits separate volumes for Liechtenstein and Monaco but not for these much larger countries about which a reasonable amount of literature has been published in English. Tackling the bibliography of three countries together—even close neighbours—within the framework of this series is not easy. The compilers have managed it well, but separate volumes would have permitted greater depth by the inclusion of more material, particularly periodical articles. Separation would also have overcome some awkwardness of arrangement arising from the mixing of works on three

countries in one sequence. Given the devotion of the Latvian compilers to the independence of the Baltic countries, one suspects that commercial constraints or the lack of potential bibliographers lie behind this combined treatment. However, a triune loaf is better than no bread, and this is a fascinating book.

The compilers have recorded and annotated sufficient material in English to provide the monoglot user with useful pointers to extensive information on the Baltic countries. Some works in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian, often with English summaries, have also been included. Books in German are prominent, for the obvious reason of German interest in the area. The number of writers of Baltic origin in the English-language material is striking. Competence in the relevant languages and desire to make their countries known have caused Baltic emigrés and their descendants to make a remarkable contribution to English-language scholarship on this region. If English-language material published within the Baltic states is not more frequently cited, it is probably because many Soviet-era books have become obsolete. Enough remains of literary translations and works on the arts to show how much the peoples within the Baltic countries did to demonstrate to the world the continued existence of their national identity and distinctive cultures. Persistence of national identity helped bring about the restoration of independence, as the book's chronology of recent events shows.

Compilation of the bibliography has, unsurprisingly, revealed lacunae in the literature; the compilers mention some, for example, material on administration and local government. A few omissions were noted, such as Valter Tauli's *Standard Estonian Grammar*. The value of the list of theses must be questioned, especially as the Baltic connections of some are not apparent. There is a scattering of misprints. The utility of the book is not, however, in doubt. The compilers have created a sound base on which the seeker of information can build a wide-ranging appreciation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

J. E. O. SCREEN

*School of Slavonic and East European Studies,  
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## Notes

### The Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing

Scholars of the Slavic book are cordially invited to participate in a new scholarly organization—the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing. SHARP is devoted to every aspect of the history of the book in all national literatures: the social and economic history of the writing profession; the history of bookselling, copyright and censorship; the publishing histories of particular texts, authors, editors, imprints and literary agents; the spread of literacy, book distribution and library usage; canon formation, literary education and the politics of literary criticism; reading habits and reader response; and the history of all the book arts. We have more than 400 members worldwide, including librarians, academics, bibliophiles and publishing professionals.

SHARP's inaugural conference, held at the City University of New York Graduate Center on 9–11 June 1993, attracted 130 participants. More than 80 papers are slated for our second conference, to be held in Washington at the Center for the Book at the Library of Congress on 14–16 July 1994. Our third conference will meet at Edinburgh University for the week of 11–17 July 1995; if you would like to propose a paper for that meeting, send a two-page abstract by 10 December 1994 to Professor Bill Bell, English Department, Edinburgh University, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JX, United Kingdom.

Our quarterly newsletter, *SHARP News*, features calls for papers, conference announcements, a listing of recent publications on book history, authors' queries, short articles on teaching and collaborative research, course, syllabi, and notes on archives and other research facilities. SHARP members also receive an annual Membership Directory, which includes a listing of journals that publish articles and review books on book history. For those with access to e-mail, we maintain SHARP-L, an electronic bulletin board linking hundreds of book historians around the world. For the future, SHARP is exploring a proposal to set up a journal of its own devoted to the history of the book.

SHARP aims to facilitate research projects such as the Reading Experience Database, a searchable computer bank of information on the history of reading in Britain, which is being launched by the Open University and the Centre for the Book at the British Library. In the United States, SHARP is collaborating with newly founded Centers for the History of the Book at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and Pennsylvania State University; and we are working to establish similar centres in North Carolina's Research Triangle, at the University of Texas at Austin, and at the New York Public Library. SHARP is also organizing colleges and libraries in the New York metropolitan area to set up

a cooperative graduate-level teaching programme in the history of the book.

Slavicists will be particularly interested in our plans to hold a conference in Prague in the summer of 1997. Although the programme will not be limited exclusively to the Slavic book, the meeting will aim to bring together scholars from the East and West. In organizing this conference, our most important task (and probably the most difficult) will be to locate and reach out to book historians in the former Soviet bloc. We would be grateful to anyone who can help us in building a mailing list of Russian and Eastern European scholars. The organizer for that conference is Dr Jiřina Šmejkalová-Strickland, Duškova 14, 150 00 Prague 5, Czech Republic, fax 42-2-2327106.

You can join SHARP for \$15 (one year) or \$25 (two years) in the United States and Canada; £10 (one year) or £17 (two years) in the United Kingdom; \$20 (one year) or \$35 (two years) elsewhere. Cheques in American or British currency, made out to SHARP, may be sent to Professor Jonathan Rose, History Department, Drew University, Madison, NJ 07940, USA.

JONATHAN ROSE

*Drew University*

### Exhibition of Russian Avant-Garde Books

An exhibition of the British Library's collection of Russian avant-garde books (futurist and constructivist) will be on show from 23 June to the end of September 1994 in the British Library, Great Russell Street. The centre-piece of the exhibition will be an evocation of Rodchenko's workers' library, designed for the Paris Exhibition of Decorative Arts in 1925. In conjunction with the exhibition there will be a series of events—gallery talks, slide lectures and films. A leaflet with full details of events is available from: Public Events Office, The British Library, 41 Russell Square, London WC1B 3DG.

## Contributors

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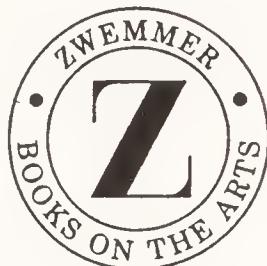
V. D. Stel'makh is Head of the Department of the Sociology of Reading and Librarianship, Russian State Library.

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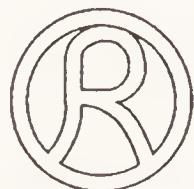
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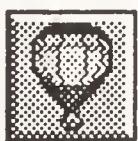
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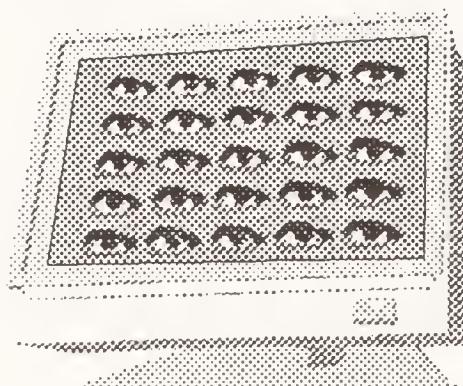
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